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The Syntax–Pragmatics Interface in Heritage Languages: The Use of *anche* ("Also") in German Heritage Speakers of Italian

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Abstract: This paper deals with the use of *anche* ("also") by German heritage speakers of Italian ("IHSs"). Previous research showed that *anche* and its German counterpart *auch* share many features but also display language-specific characteristics. According to previous research on bilingualism, heritage speakers show cross-linguistic influence ("CLI") when a linguistic phenomenon is at the syntax–pragmatics interface and there is a partial overlap in the two languages at stake. Therefore, we expect the use of *anche* in IHSs to be influenced by CLI. By analysing data from a semi-spontaneous corpus, we investigate the production of *anche* in order to understand which factors shape the grammar of the IHSs. Our results indicate that a subset of IHSs uses *anche* in the same way as in homeland Italian. The other informants display CLI effects of different types: on the one hand, they have two positions in the clausal structure for *anche* dedicated to different syntactic–pragmatic contexts, as in German, and they overextend the use of *anche* as a modal particle. On the other hand, the intonational properties of *anche* are not affected by CLI.

Keywords: additive particles; heritage speakers; focalizers; bilingualism; cross-linguistic influence; Italian; German

1. Introduction

The study of language relied for many decades on the idea that the language rules interiorized by monolingual speakers of that language be the norm[1]. This "monolingual bias" was also at the basis of the generative theory: in its first years, Chomsky's approach relied strongly on the idealized image of a monolingual speaker in a monolingual environment: "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly [. . .]" (Chomsky 1965, p. 3).

In the last decades, however, bilingual and multilingual speakers of different types, among them Heritage Speakers ('HSs')[2], have been paid increasing attention to: the study of their grammatical representations, as visible both in production and in comprehension, allows us to improve our general knowledge about the human language faculty, and, more specifically, about the syntactic competences and on the limits of variation within human language. This insight has led to the fundamental realization that heritage languages in adults are not the result of an "incomplete acquisition": as observed by Kupisch et al. (2017) et seq., there should be a clear conceptual difference between development (during the acquisition process) and outcomes, because only an evolving grammar can be conceived as "incomplete". An adult heritage grammar, on the other hand, is by definition complete, because, as observed by Polinsky (2018), adult heritage grammars are always internally coherent, albeit different from the grammars of speakers living in the homeland and from those of their parents.

In addition, Polinsky (2018) also observes that it is uninformative to compare adult HSs with speakers in the homeland "if we want to understand how heritage language acquisition works" (Polinsky 2018, p. 11) because the two varieties are not directly related: first of all, the baseline for HSs is the language of first-generation, attrited immigrants[3], or of other HSs. In addition, speakers in the homeland are exposed to the language for their whole life and innovate in manyfold ways even when they are adults. Furthermore, their language is characterized by the presence of more registers, while HSs often lack education in the heritage language and thus may have low proficiency in the written language and in diaphasically high registers.

However, if our aim is a theoretical analysis of an adult HSs' grammar, then the comparison makes sense: heritage languages can be considered as peculiar varieties of the homeland language (cf. also Nagy 2016), so that "the task becomes an exercise in dialect comparison" (Polinsky 2018, p. 349). It is exactly this view of heritage languages that we would like to pursue in this paper: we suggest that we can adapt the tools developed for the analysis of dialectal variation by the generative framework to a formal, qualitative analysis of heritage languages[4]. As we can compare the mechanisms that differentiate a property in two genetically related dialects, or between a dialect and the standard language, we can do the same by comparing a heritage language with the homeland language since the heritage language is just one of its varieties[5].

Our study addresses the topic of transfer from the dominant language (i.e., the language in which a speaker is more proficient) in HSs, by comparing a variety that evolved in a context of language contact (heritage Italian in Germany, henceforth "HerIt") with a variety, or more precisely a group of varieties, spoken by speakers that have grown up in Italy, without having such a strong experience of language contact ("Homeland Italian", henceforth "HomIt")[6]. The phenomenon chosen is the syntax of additive particles, which is governed by different rules in Italian and in German, the dominant language of the analysed heritage speakers of Italian ("IHSs"). For these speakers, German is the dominant language at a community level as well.

In the case discussed in this paper, there are at least two explanations for the deviations of HerIt from HomIt: the Italian additive particle *anche* might have changed in the production of the attrited parents and community members (which are HomIt speakers), and the children acquired it from them, or the attrited parents produced *anche* as in the homeland variety, but the second-generation immigrants reanalysed its rules as an effect of German, their dominant language[7]. In both cases, we expect the production of *anche* to be particularly subject to cross-linguistic influence ("CLI") because the phenomenon is at the interface between syntax and pragmatics/discourse. This property has been claimed to pose particular difficulties for bilingual speakers ("Interface Hypothesis", Sorace 2004; Tsimpli and Sorace 2006; Serratrice and Sorace 2009) because it requires more processing resources. In addition, in the case that the HSs themselves are the source of the innovation in the use of *anche* (and consequently they differ from the baseline), a second reason to expect CLI is given by the fact that the use of *anche* partially overlaps with the use of the corresponding German particle *auch* (see Section 2). According to Hulk and Müller (2000), Müller and Hulk (2001) and Platzack (2001), a partial overlap is a necessary condition for CLI to occur. In fact, these studies have shown that it is easier for bilinguals to acquire properties that are completely different in the two languages they are exposed to than to master a property that has some, but crucially not all, features in common between the two languages. As far as *anche*/*auch* are concerned, there is a partial overlap both in syntax (in both languages *anche*/*auch* occurs in the tense phrase, the TP, in a series of contexts[8]) and in prosody (related to different word orders); but the partial overlap also concerns the distribution of *anche* and *auch* across sentence types, as far as their use as modal particles is concerned.

To investigate how IHSs cope with the use of *anche* and to which extent their use of *anche* can be interpreted as the result of CLI, we organized the paper as follows: In Section 2 we provide a background of the three uses of Italian *anche* and German *auch* and highlight

the properties they share and those they do not. Section 3 gives an overview of previous studies on the acquisition of *anche* and drawing on these puts forward some hypotheses on the use of *anche* by IHSs. Section 4 presents the methodology of our corpus study. In Section 5, we report the results of our analysis. Finally, Section 6 discusses the results, and Section 7 contains the conclusions.

2. Functions of *Auch* and *Anche*

Recent studies (Bidese et al. 2019; Moroni and Bidese 2021a; Cognola et al. 2022) show that Italian *anche* and German *auch* display the same functions but behave to some extent differently with respect to their syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic properties. In this section, we describe the three functions of *anche* and *auch* in the two languages and highlight the asymmetries in their realizations.

2.1. Additive Particle

In their function as additive elements, *anche* and *auch* mark the addition of an element denoted by a constituent to a set of contextually relevant alternatives, for which the sentence holds. The constituent on which *anche* and *auch* scopes is called the Domain of Association (henceforth "DA", see Andorno and De Cesare 2017). Both in Italian and German, the additive particle can directly precede its DA, as in (1), taken from Pasch et al. (2003, p. 577) and (2), our translation of (1) into Italian[9]:

1. **Auch** [Peter]ᴅᴀ hat bei Lucie angerufen. {Hans, Julia} (Pasch et al. 2003, p. 577)
    Also   Peter   has at   Lucie called

2. **Anche** [Peter]ᴅᴀ ha chiamato Lucie. {Hans, Julia}
    Also   Peter   has called   Lucie

In both cases, *auch* and *anche* signal that Peter must be added to a set of persons (Hans, Julia), for which the proposition "x called Lucie" holds. *Anche* and *auch* as additive particles interact with the focus-background structure of the sentence in that their DA is stressed/focalized. Therefore, they are also called focalizers or focus particles in the literature (cfr. Andorno 2000; König 1991; Dimroth 2004; De Cesare 2019, p. 79)[10].

When *auch* and *anche* have the whole predicate as their DA and the verb form is synthetic, they must both be right adjacent to the verb, as in (3) from Andorno (2000, p. 95) and (3a) derived by us from (3):

3.   Gianni   [canta]ᴅᴀ **anche**.
     Gianni   sings   also
     'Gianni also sings'
3a. Gianni   [singt]ᴅᴀ **auch**.
     Gianni   sings   also
     'Gianni also sings'

For Italian, this holds both for main and subordinate clauses. By contrast, as German subordinate clauses are verb-final, *auch* in this case is on the left of the verb (and of its object), as in (3b):

3b. dass Gianni **auch** dieses Lied [singt]ᴅᴀ
     that Gianni also   this song   sings
     '… that Gianni also sings this song'

Moreover, Andorno (2000, pp. 93–94) points out that when the DA is preverbal, Italian *anche* can possibly be placed right adjacent to it, as in (3c) (derived by us from (3)) and (3d) taken from Andorno (2000, p. 94):

3c. [Gianni]_{DA} **anche**   canta.
  Gianni also sings
  'Gianni also sings.'

3d. [Gigi/lui]_{DA} **anche** ha preparato una torta per la   festa.
  Gigi/he also has prepared a cake   for the party
  'Gigi also prepared a cake for the party.'

However, the grammaticality of structures such as these is still a matter of debate in the literature and is probably subject to regional variation: examples like (3c) and (3d) seem to be more acceptable in central and southern varieties of Italian, and in an informal spoken register.

Except for cases such as (3) and (3c)–(3d), Italian *anche* is always left adjacent to its DA (see among others Andorno 2008; Bidese et al. 2019, pp. 350–51; Cognola et al. 2022, p. 214). Thus, structures such as (4) and (5) are taken to be ungrammatical[11]:

4. *Gigi ha preparato [una torta]_{DA} **anche** per la   festa. (Andorno 2000, p. 94)
   Gigi has baked a cake also for the party

5. *Gigi ha preparato una torta [per la festa]_{DA} **anche**. (Andorno 2000, p. 94)
   Gigi has baked a cake for the party also

By contrast, the order "DA+additive particle" is very frequent in German and belongs to the main structures in which *auch* can be embedded. In this case, *auch* can be either adjacent to its DA (ex. (6)) or separated from it in what is often called "discontinuous construction" (cf. Cognola et al. 2022, (7)):

6. (Paul went on holiday)
   In den Urlaub   ist [Johannes]_{DA}   **AUCH** gefahren.
   in   the holidays is   Johannes ALSO gone
   'Johannes also went on holiday'

7. (Paul went on holiday)
   [Johannes]_{DA} ist **AUCH** in den Urlaub   gefahren.
    Johannes is ALSO in   the holidays gone
   'Johannes also went on holiday'

Note that in both cases *auch* also follows the inflected verb, i.e., it is in a TP (i.e., Tense Phrase, within the minimalist framework) position. As in structures such as (1) above (*auch*+DA), *auch* in (6) and (7) seems to operate on its DA by adding the element denoted by it to a set of alternatives, the only difference lying in the information structure. In (1a) and (6a)–(7a), we represent the two different information structures:

1a. **Auch** [PETER]$_{DA/Focus}$ hat bei Lucie angerufen.
6a. In den Urlaub ist [Johannes]$_{DA/Topic}$ [**AUCH**]$_{Focus}$ gefahren.
7a. [Johannes]$_{DA/Topic}$ ist [**AUCH**]$_{Focus}$ in den Urlaub gefahren.

Our definition of the information structural categories of topic and focus draws on Büring (1997). By focus, we understand a syntactic constituent that bears the most prominent accent within the utterance and encodes the most relevant piece of information in the given context. By topic, we refer to a constituent that encodes the element that the utterance is about (see also Uhmann 1991; Moroni 2010, pp. 43–60). In (1a) the DA *Peter* builds the focus. In this case, the additive particle *auch* signals that the encoded proposition ("jemand hat bei Lucie angerufen", "someone called Lucie") holds for more than one person, one of those being Peter. By contrast, accented *auch* in (6a)–(7a) is the focus[12] and its DA is a topic (Krifka 1998; Nederstigt 2003, pp. 180–86; Dimroth 2004, pp. 151–64; Reimer and Dimroth 2021). In this case, the focalized information is the additive operation encoded by *auch* itself, i.e., the fact that the proposition also holds for the topic *Johannes*. Although

the difference at the information structural/theoretical level is clear, the distribution of the two structures in natural language data is not always easy to track, that is, the two structures can appear in similar contexts and their difference in natural data is very subtle (see Reimer and Dimroth 2021; Dimroth 2004, pp. 154–55).

In this respect, Reimer and Dimroth (2021) carried out a corpus study on *auch* in spontaneous spoken data and showed that the presence of alternatives in the communicative context influences the choice between unaccented *auch* as an additive particle, i.e., the structure *auch*+DA (as in our example (1a)), and accented *auch*, i.e., DA+*auch* (as in our examples (6a) and (7a)). In their data, accented *auch* tends to occur when alternatives are explicit in the context, while unaccented *auch* can occur when alternatives are present in the context as much as when no alternatives are available (Reimer and Dimroth 2021, p. 11). Furthermore, the number of alternatives also seems to play a role in that accented *auch* tends to occur when only one alternative is present in the context whereas unaccented *auch* can also occur with more alternatives. In sum, Reimer and Dimroth's (2021) study shows that accented *auch* (i.e., the structure DA+*auch*) and unaccented *auch* (i.e., *auch*+DA) not only display a different information structure but also correlate with different contextual features [13].

Unlike German "DA+accented *auch*", discontinuous structures of the type "DA+accented *anche*" are taken to be either ungrammatical (Bidese et al. 2019, p. 350; Cognola et al. 2022) or marginal/rare. Andorno (2000, p. 96), for instance, maintains that the pattern "DA+accented *anche*" can in some cases be realized, but that it seems to be restricted to spoken Italian, as in (8):

8.   - Hai visto il negozio che hanno riaperto? Ha delle belle scarpe.
       Il   negozio sulla   piazza ha   **ANCHE**   delle belle scarpe. (Andorno 2000, p. 96)
       the store   on-the square has   ALSO   some nice shoes
       '- Did you see the store they reopened? It has nice shoes.
       - The store on the square also has nice shoes.'

According to Andorno, *anche* is accented and its DA is the constituent in the front position of the sentence *il negozio sulla piazza*, i.e., in (8) *anche* behaves like German *auch* in the example (7) above. Since our control data for HomIt (see Section 4 below) do not present any occurrences of this structure, following Bidese et al. (2019) and Cognola et al. (2022), we consider structures such as (8) as marginal in HomIt; however, we cannot exclude that they could be acceptable by some speakers or in some regional varieties/registers because our reference corpus for HomIt does not cover all registers and geographical areas of Italy.

In Italian, the discontinuous construction with the DA in the first position can occur only when the DA is resumed by a strong pronoun, as pointed out by Kolmer (2012, p. 191) (see also De Cesare 2015, p. 40; Cognola et al. 2022, p. 216). Example (9) is an example taken from De Cesare (2015, p. 40):

9.   [Stella]$_i$ legge **anche** lei$_i$.
      Stella   reads also   she
      'Stella also reads.'

In this respect, Andorno (2008) argues that Italian *anche* follows the principle of right scope in opposition to German *auch*, which can often scope over a DA on its left (ex. (6) and (7)). Within the cartographic framework, Cognola et al. (2022) argued that this difference between German *auch* and Italian *anche* results from asymmetries in the movement properties of the two particles, i.e., from the fact that the DA of the additive particle can be moved alone to Spec,CP only in German, whereas this movement is not possible in Italian (see Section 6 below).

2.2. Sentence Connective

Auch and *anche* also serve as connective adverbs and connect two clauses. In this case, they mark the clause as an element that must be added to a set of items to which the preceding clause belongs. Let us first look at German *auch*. Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the two possible positions *auch* can occupy as a connective. In (10), it appears in sentence-initial position, whereas in (11), derived from (10), it follows the verb:

10. In ihrer Jugend erhielt sie Ballett-Schauspiel- und Gesangs-Unterricht bei lauter Meistern dieser Künste.
    'In her youth she received ballet, acting and singing lessons from masters of these arts.
    Auch arbeitete sie als Foto-Modell.
    also worked she as photo model
    (Berlin hat den Jazz immer noch? https://jazzgeschichten.de/evelyn-kuennecke/ accessed on 8 July 2022)
    She also worked as a photo model.'

11. Sie arbeitete **auch** als Foto-Modell.
    she worked also as photo model
    'Also, she worked as a photo model'

When used as a sentence connective, Italian *anche* can appear either in a syntactically non-integrated position or syntactically integrated in a postverbal position. As for the parenthetical use, we report the following examples that we have found in an online search[14]:

12. Primo, devi dimostrare di aver tentato di risolvere il tuo reclamo tramite la procedura di reclamo del tuo fornitore. La direzione del fornitore potrebbe voler rispondere e/o affrontare le tue preoccupazioni. Sarai nella posizione più forte se il tuo reclamo viene presentato mentre sei iscritto. Se te ne vai e poi ti lamenti, potresti avere maggiori probabilità di incontrare difficoltà nell'assicurare risposte tempestive da parte del fornitore. **Anche**, sarebbe opportuno considerare eventuali condizioni per il visto prima di partire. (https://www.languageuk.com/it/informazioni-sugli-studenti/denunce,-contestazioni/ accessed on 20 February 2023)
    "First, you must demonstrate that you have attempted to resolve your complaint through your supplier's complaints procedure. The provider's management may wish to respond and/or address your concerns. You will be in a stronger position if your complaint is filed while you are enrolled. If you leave and then complain, you may be more likely to encounter difficulties in securing timely responses from the supplier. Also, it would be wise to consider any visa conditions before you leave."

13. A ciascuno, Baldabiou aveva svelato, senza problemi, i segreti del mestiere. Questo lo divertiva molto più che fare soldi a palate. Insegnare. E avere segreti da raccontare. Era un uomo fatto così. Baldabiou era, **anche**, l'uomo che otto anni prima aveva cambiato la vita di Hervé Joncour. (Baricco, Alessandro (1999). Seta. Milano: Rizzoli).
    "To each, Baldabiou had unceremoniously revealed the secrets of the trade. This amused him much more than making big money. Teaching. And having secrets to tell. That was the kind of man he was. Baldabiou was also the man who had changed Hervé Joncour's life eight years earlier."

14. Questo, davvero, sarebbe meraviglioso. Sarebbe dolce, la vita, qualunque vita. E le cose non farebbero male, ma si avvicinerebbero portate dalla corrente, si potrebbe prima sfiorarle e poi toccarle e solo alla fine farsi toccare. Farsi ferire, **anche**. Morirne. Non importa. Ma tutto sarebbe, finalmente, umano. Basterebbe la fantasia di qualcuno—un padre, un amore, qualcuno. Lui saprebbe inventarla una strada, qui, in mezzo a questo silenzio, in questa terra che non vuole parlare. (Baricco, Alessandro (1997): Oceano mare. Milano: Rizzoli).
  "That, really, would be wonderful. It would be sweet, life, any life. And things would not hurt, but would come upstream, one could first brush against them and then touch them and only at the end get touched. Get hurt, even. Die from them. No matter. But everything would be, finally, human."

Example (15) illustrates the use of Italian *anche* as a sentence connective in the postverbal position. It is taken from Moroni and Bidese (2021a, p. 203) who carried out an empirical study drawing on Italian spoken data from the LIP corpus (see Section 4 below for a description of the LIP corpus):

15. B: ho fatto colazione mi son messa a lavorare tre ore sono andata a far la spesa ho mangiato poi c'avevo **anche** sonno
  'I had breakfast, I set to work three hours, I went shopping, I ate, then I was also sleepy'
  (LIP, Florence, Type A, Conversation 1)

Unlike German *auch*, *anche* as a sentence connective can never appear in a syntactically integrated sentence-initial position, as pointed out by Andorno (2000, p. 100), who illustrates this restriction with the following two examples:

16. *Gianni è svogliato. **Anche** sono aumentati i corsi. Non so come farà a superare l'anno.
16b. **Anche** sono aumentati i corsi.
  also   are   increased the courses

17. Gianni è svogliato. Sono **anche** aumentati i corsi. Non so come farà a superare l'anno.
  'Gianni is listless. The courses have also increased. I don't know how he will make it through the year.'
17b. Sono **anche** aumentati i corsi.
  are   also   increased the courses

To sum up, both *auch* and *anche* share the same function of sentence connective but display asymmetries in their syntax: German *auch* can only appear within the sentence structure, either in syntactically integrated sentence-initial position or after the verb. By contrast, Italian *anche* can either appear in syntactically non-integrated initial, medial or final position or as a syntactically integrated item but only in postverbal position, a position that is frequently found in both languages (see Section 2.4 below, Table 1). In addition, it is possible that the frequency of usage of the sentence connectives *auch* and *anche* may differ, with the Italian word *inoltre* ("in addition") potentially serving as the functional equivalent of *auch* in many cases (see Andorno and De Cesare 2017).

2.3. Modal Particle

Finally, *auch* and *anche* can be used as modal particles. In this case, they display the following constitutive properties of this functional class (see Thurmair 1989; Müller 2014, a.o.):

- they are always syntactically integrated and never appear in sentence-initial position (not even when this position is syntactically integrated);
- their occurrence is restricted to certain sentence/illocutive types;

- they express modality at the sentence level.

As for their syntax, it must be specified that *auch* and *anche* as modal particles must appear after the finite verb.

18. A: Ich habe von dem Text nicht alles verstanden.
    B: Naja, Deutsch ist **auch** nicht einfach.   (Thurmair 1989, p. 155)
        well German is also not   easy
    'A: I didn't understand everything about the text.
    B: Well, German is not easy at all.'

19. Potevi   **anche** pensarci!   (Andorno 2000, p. 54)
    you.could also   think-of.that
    'You should have thought of that.'

If *auch* and *anche* occur in another position, for instance, fronted or moved to a clause-external position, the modal interpretation is ruled out:

18a. A: Ich habe von dem Text nicht alles verstanden.
    B: #Naja, **auch** ist Deutsch nicht einfach.
          Well   also is German not   easy
18b. A: Ich habe von dem Text nicht alles verstanden.
    B: #Naja, Deutsch ist nicht einfach, **auch**.
          Well German is not   easy   also

19a. #**Anche** potevi   pensarci!
      also   you.could think-of.that
19b. #Potevi   pensarci,   **anche**!
      you.could think-of.that also

The meaning conveyed by *auch* and *anche* as modal particles relates to their additive semantics in that the speech act expressed by the *auch*/*anche* utterance is marked by the speaker as "to be added to the communicative situation", which characterizes the utterance/speech act as coherent with the preceding context and thus expectable (Thurmair 1989, pp. 155–60; Bidese et al. 2019, p. 352).

As for the sentence type, *anche* as a modal particle seems to be restricted to declarative or exclamative sentences such as (19) above[15]. By contrast, the modal particle *auch* is compatible with more sentence types, as illustrated in (18) above (in which *auch* appears in an assertion) and in the following examples (20)–(23a):

20. Die letzte Woche vor den Ferien bricht an—Habt ihr **auch** alles vorbereitet: Die Nachbarn gefragt, ob sie die Blumen gießen und nach der Post schauen? (polar question)

    (https://m.facebook.com/wdr2/photos/die-letzte-woche-vor-den-ferien-bricht-an-habt-ihr-auch-alles-vorbereitet-die-na/1576536925712343/ accessed on 2 June 2022)

    'The last week before the vacations is approaching—are you sure you have got everything ready: Asked the neighbors if they water the flowers and look after the mail?'

20a. Habt ihr **auch** alles   vorbereitet?
    have you **also** everything prepared
    'Are you sure you have got everything ready?'

21. Durch unbedachte Äußerungen im Sinne von „Warum hast du **auch** immer so viel genascht?", können die Schuldgefühle von Kindern zusätzlich verstärkt werden. (wh-interrogative)
(https://www.boep.or.at/download/5672d25ae08cfc3764000009/MamamaPapawasist DIabetes.pdf accessed on 2 February 2022)
'Careless remarks such as "Why did you always snack so much?" can further increase children's feelings of guilt.'

21a. Warum hast du　**auch** immer so viel　　genascht?
why　　have you also　always so much　snacked
'Why did you always snack so much?'

22. ... was bist du **auch** für ein alter Geizkragen, wählst wieder die kostengünstige "SoukVariante"! (wh-exclamative)
(https://www.forum.marokko.net/ubbthreads.php?ubb=showflat&Number=15342 5 accessed on 2 June 2022)
'you are such a cheapskate! You choose again the inexpensive "Souk option"!'

22a. was　bist du　**auch** für ein　alter　Geizkragen
what　are you also　for an　old　　cheapskate

23　Und sei **auch** brav! (imperative)　　　　　　　(Thurmair 1989, p. 158)
'You be good, okay?'

23a. Und sei　　**auch** brav!
and　be.IMP also　good
'You be good, okay?'

2.4. Summary: Partial Overlap

In this section, we showed that *auch* and *anche* share the same three functions (additive particle, sentence connective and modal particle) but that they are characterized by a partial overlap with respect to their syntactic and prosodic behaviour and their compatibility with different sentence types. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of *auch* and *anche* in their three functions.

As Table 1 shows, each function of *anche/auch* exhibits some degree of overlap. In particular, only German *auch* can follow its DA (and the inflected verb) bearing a focus accent in the discontinuous construction. As for *auch/anche* as sentence connectives, only Italian allows for the particle to be in parenthetical constructions, i.e., syntactically non-integrated. Finally, *auch* and *anche* as modal particles overlap only when embedded in declaratives and exclamatives, whereas German *auch* can appear in other sentence types (wh-interrogatives, polar interrogatives, wh-exclamatives and imperatives). These asymmetries will be crucial for the interpretation of our data (see Sections 5 and 6 below).

Table 1. Comparison of the properties of *auch* and *anche*.

Function	Properties	*Auch*	*Anche*
additive particle	Particle + DA (left adjacency)	+	+
	Postverbal DA+ accented particle (right adjacency)	**+**	**-**
	Preverbal DA+ accented particle (right adjacency)	**-**	**?**
	DA+V+ accented particle (discontinuous construction)	**+**	**-**
connective	Syntactically integrated in the postverbal position	+	+
	Syntactically integrated in the first position	**+**	**-**
	Syntactically non-integrated (parenthetical use)	**-**	**+**
modal particle	Syntactically integrated in the postverbal position (declaratives and exclamatives)	+	+
	Syntactically integrated in the postverbal position (other sentence types)	**+**	**-**

Note: "+" = grammatical, "-" = ungrammatical, "?" = marginal.

3. Previous Studies on the Acquisition of *Anche*

While the acquisition and production of *anche* by IHSs have never been studied, there are some studies that deal with its acquisition by L2 speakers of Italian. In particular, Andorno (2000) is the first longitudinal study on L1 speakers of Chinese and Tigrinya, who were moving from a basic to a post-basic competence of Italian as L2 (Andorno 2000, p. 134). From a quantitative perspective, Andorno observes that *anche* is the first focalizer that appears in the speakers' production and the most used (Andorno 2000, p. 139). Andorno observes that, especially at the initial stage of acquisition, several occurrences of *anche* do not seem to display either an additive or a scalar value[16] (Andorno 2000, pp. 147–50) and lack a focalizing function. By contrast, they are used as generic sentence connectives and are placed between two utterances following the pattern in (24), which is not allowed in standard Italian:

24.   sentence1 **anche** sentence2 (*anche* as a sentence connective)

With reference to Dimroth and Dittmar's (1998) study on an Italian learner of German, who produces the same pattern in (24), Andorno (2000, pp. 194–95) argues that this use of *anche* cannot be interpreted as the result of CLI, as it does not belong to the L1 (German) system but rather it must be a typical pragmatic strategy independent from the speaker's L1.

After this first stage, in which *anche* is used as a sentence connective, occurrences of *anche* as an additive particle emerge in Andorno's data. As for the structural embedding of *anche* as an additive particle, Andorno investigates its position in relation to the topic-focus structure and shows that the L2 speakers of her corpus tend to produce in a first step elliptical structures of the type "*anche*-DA", with the DA being the focus of the utterance. In this respect, Andorno takes this pattern to be the result of an analogy process following the pattern "negation particle (Ital. *non/no*)- focus", which is acquired at a very early stage and, crucially, before focalizers.

When the speakers begin to produce utterances with finite verbs, they tend to put *anche* left adjacent to the DA as in the target, by placing the chunk "*anche*-x" in pre- or postverbal position, such as (25)–(26):

25. **anche** [XP]~DA~ V XP

26. XP V **anche** [XP]~DA~

Finally, at a later stage, Andorno's participants acquire the use of *anche* between the inflected and the non-inflected verb with *anche* taking scope over the predicate or the whole sentence. According to Andorno (2000, p. 195), this represents the most difficult structure to acquire because the intraverbal position is rarely used in Italian and thus rarely present in the input of the L2 speakers. To sum up, Andorno (2000) interprets her data on the production of *anche* as resulting from three main factors: (i) quantity of exposure to L2, (ii) universal pragmatic strategies of L2 speakers, which are independent of their L1 (initial *anche* as a sentence connective) and (iii) analogy processes within the L2 (pattern "*anche*-focus" and left adjacency in analogy to the negation pattern "negation particle-focus" in Italian). On the other hand, the rules governing the use of the adverb/particle corresponding to *anche* in their L1 do not seem to play a role.

Unlike Andorno (2000), two subsequent studies by Andorno and Turco (2015) and Caloi (2017) involve L2 speakers of Italian that have German as L1[17]. Andorno and Turco focus on the two language pairs "Italian L1 + German L2" and vice versa, collecting spoken data via a retelling task based on a film clip (Dimroth 2006, 2012). The speakers are shown a film clip called "the finite story" produced with the purpose of eliciting various additive particles (see Dimroth et al. 2010)[18]. The authors focus both on the position and on the prosody of *anche/auch*, comparing the L2 speakers with a native control group. In the analysis of the data of the L2 speakers of Italian, they find that their participants mostly put *anche* in the position preceding the DA, which is target-like (see Section 2.1 above). Only

three out of nine participants used the German postverbal position, and only one of them used it in most cases (three out of five) (Andorno and Turco 2015, p. 70). However, as far as prosody is concerned, the main Italian prosodic pattern, i.e., the falling contour on the last constituent of the DA in the scope of *anche*, is completely absent in the production by German learners. Rather, all types of sentences usually mirror the L1 contour: for example, the participants tend to produce the pattern "*anche* DA VP" (which is available both in German and in Italian) with the typical prosodic pattern of German, which is with a rising contour on the NP in the scope of *anche* and a rising contour or a high pitch accent on the VP. In a minority of cases, on the other hand, the sentence with *anche* shows a high plateau on *anche*, a falling accent on the DA and a flat pitch on the VO: this is an available pattern, although found only occasionally, in both Italian and German.

Andorno and Turco list various reasons to explain these data: first, they observe that there is a lack of transparency in the input because different orders with the same semantic content are available in some cases (but note that this concerns German L1 rather than Italian L1, cfr. Section 2). In addition, they invoke the partial overlap between *anche* and *auch*. Finally, according to the authors, *anche* and *auch* occur in marked structures, therefore, the realization of *anche* conflicts with other pragmatic principles (e.g., "topic first"). Andorno and Turco also claim that prosody is harder to acquire than syntax, and therefore, more CLI effects are expected.

Caloi (2017) focuses on German learners of Italian only, using a multiple-choice task in which the participants, who all have a B1–B2 level, must choose the preferred word order. In her tasks, she considers three types of DA, distinguished through their syntactic role in the clause: subject, direct object, and VP. The speakers had to choose among three options: one was target-like, with *anche* immediately preceding its DA (27b); in the second, considered marginal by Caloi, *anche* immediately followed the DA (27b′). Finally, in the "ungrammatical" option, *anche* followed the finite verb when the DA was the subject (27b″), while it was in first sentence position when the DA was the object or the VP (27c):

27 a. La nonna ha preparato una torta.   (Caloi 2017, p. 252)
      the granny has baked   a   cake
   b. **Anche** [la   mamma]DA ha preparato una torta.   (grammatical)
      also   the mother   has baked   a   cake
   b′. ?[La   mamma]DA **anche** ha   preparato una torta.   (marginal)
       the mother   also   has baked   a   cake
   b″.*[La   mamma]DA ha **anche** preparato una torta.   (ungrammatical)
       the mother   has also   baked   a   cake
   c. * **Anche** ha   preparato [una torta]DA.   (ungrammatical)
       also   has baked   a   cake

The advantage of this study is that the results of different speakers are comparable, and there are enough data for the three DA types; in addition, it required less cognitive effort because the learners did not have to produce sentences on their own. On the other hand, such a task completely excludes information about the prosody with which these speakers would produce the sentences. Caloi's results show that, in general, learners perform more target-like when the DA is the subject (66% of cases); when the DA is the object or the VP, the percentages drop (45% and 30%, respectively), but with a high degree of variability. These results are striking because it is in the subject condition that the ungrammatical option in Italian (the discontinuous construction) corresponds to the unmarked German word order so we would expect more CLI effects. On the other hand, in the other two cases, the order that is ungrammatical in Italian is possible but marked, in German. Hence, the L1 does not seem to be the main origin for the deviant answers, because otherwise, we would have a higher percentage of them in the subject condition, where German more consistently differs from Italian.

A second interesting result of Caloi's study is that most of the participants seem to go for a fixed order, independently of the type and syntactic role of the DA. In this case, the position of *anche* varies: for some participants, it is preverbal, and for others, it is in the postverbal position. The author interprets these results as consistent with the activation either of the high FocusP in CP, or of the low FocusP in the periphery of vP (cf. Belletti 2004).

To sum up, in this section we have seen that although there are no studies dealing specifically with *anche* in HerIt, there are some studies on L2 Italian acquired by Germans that offer some important insights. If their results can be transferred to IHSs, we should be able to tentatively formulate the following predictions[19]:

1. If (and only if) HerIt resembles L2 Italian in the use of *anche*, then its use should be comparable to that of HomIt:

    a. when the DA is the preverbal subject (cf. Andorno and Turco 2015; Caloi 2017);
    b. when *anche* is adjacent to the DA (Andorno 2000);

2. If IHSs mirror L2 language learners in the production of *anche*, then their production differs from HomIt in the following respects:

    a. *Anche* should occur in a fixed position within the clause, unlike in HomIt (Caloi 2017);
    b. It should not show the same intonation as in HomIt, but the intonational pattern should have CLI from the dominant language, German (as shown for L2 speakers by Andorno and Turco 2015).

As far as (2b) is concerned, note that there are not many studies on HSs focusing on the production of intonation patterns. Polinsky (2018) only cites works on the prosody of focus (e.g., Van Rijswijk et al. (2017) on heritage Turkish in The Netherlands; Fenyvesi (2005) on heritage Hungarian in the US), which show that speakers tend to use the intonation patterns of their dominant language when producing foci. More in general, studies on the intonation of IHSs (Lloyd-Smith et al. 2020) have shown that the majority of them do not sound "native-like", while a minority of them are perceived as native by homeland speakers: in Kupisch et al. (2014), less than 33% of the HSs tested were rated as having a native intonation.

4. Materials and Methods

In order to analyse the production of *anche* by IHSs, we carried out a study on the corpus HABLA ("Hamburg Adult Bilingual Language", Kupisch 2011; Kupisch et al. 2012). The corpus HABLA was collected in the research project "Linguistic aspects of language attrition and second language acquisition in adult bilinguals (German-French and German-Italian)" (Kupisch et al. 2012). It is a collection of semi-structured interviews with HSs and L2 speakers with the language pairs German–Italian and German–French; some of the participants grew up in Germany, and the others in Italy or France, respectively. As for the German–Italian data, the corpus HABLA contains the following interviews (cf. Kupisch et al. 2012, p. 168):

-   12 interviews conducted in German and 12 interviews conducted in Italian with IHSs who grew up in Germany and have German as their dominant language;
-   8 interviews conducted in Italian and 8 interviews conducted in German with German HSs who grew up in Italy and have Italian as their dominant language;
-   15 interviews conducted in Italian with German L2 speakers of Italian;
-   19 interviews conducted in German with Italian L2 speakers of German.

The data from the L2 language learners were collected to compare HSs with L2 speakers. For our study, we focused on the interviews conducted in Italian with IHSs who grew up in Germany and whose dominant language is German. All speakers grew up in a bi-national family and were exposed to German and Italian from birth with their parents adopting the one-parent-one-language approach (Romaine 1995). At the time of the collection of the data, the participants were aged between 19 and 39 years. In particular, we

chose to analyse 6 interviews/participants. We made the selection taking into account (i) the overall number of occurrences of *anche* and (ii) the number of non-matching occurrences in every interview. The interviews that had a low number of occurrences were not considered. Among those that had a considerable number of occurrences, we selected three in which the speakers tend to use *anche* according to the rules of HomIt and three that exhibit a substantial number of non-matching uses (see Section 5 below, Figure 1 and Table 3). Table 2 gives an overview of the codes, abbreviations and the number of *anche* occurrences of the 6 interviews:

Table 2. HABLA speakers' codes, abbreviations, and the total number of occurrences of *anche*.

Speaker's Code	Abbreviation	Total Number of Occurrences of *Anche*
D11_2L1_DI_HAN_INT_it	HS1	22
D10_2L1_DI_ANL_INT_it	HS2	47
D05_2L1_DI_PAS_INT_it	HS3	8
D01_2L1_DI_GIH_INT_it	HS4	54
D03_2L1_DI_MAL_INT_it	HS5	34
D14_2L1_DI_PHI_INT_it	HS6	35
Total instances		200

We manually annotated all occurrences of *anche* (*n* = 200) found in the six interviews. They were then classified according to their function, and evaluated as compatible or not with the rules of HomIt (see Section 2 above)[20]. To individuate these rules, we relied not only on our judgements as native speakers—which coincided with those of Caloi (2017), but also on an investigation of the LIP corpus (which stands for *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato*, "Frequency lexicon of spoken Italian"), a collection of 496 conversations between native speakers of HomIt[21]. The LIP was collected in the early 1990s and contains conversations from Florence, Milan, Naples and Rome belonging to one of the following types: (A) spontaneous face-to-face conversations; (B) phone conversations; (C) interviews, debates and oral exams; (D) monologues (i.e., speeches); (E) TV and radio shows. For our analysis, we considered the first 100 occurrences of *anche* appearing in face-to-face conversations (type A), 25 from each city represented in the corpus[22]. The uses of *anche* in this corpus correspond exactly to the rules that we, as native speakers, had previously individuated through introspection.

5. Results

A first, strong result is a quantitative difference between the six analysed speakers: three of them (HS1, HS2 and HS3) performed at the ceiling, if compared to the HomIt grammar: their production was compatible with the HomIt rules in 91%, 100% and 88% of the cases, respectively (see below for a description of the non-matching uses)[23]. The other three interviewees (HS4, HS5 and HS6) followed the rules of HomIt in half of the occurrences, or even lower: only 35%, 56% and 46% of the realizations of *anche* matched the rules of HomIt. In absolute numbers, this corresponds to 19/54, 19/34 and 16/35 occurrences, respectively. Figure 1 illustrates the percentages.

This sharp divide among the speakers witnesses the high individual variability, which could be due to various factors, such as the number and length of stays in the homeland, age of onset in German, the total amount of input in Italian, possibility or not of having education in Italian, attrition of the input coming from the parents, caregivers or other speakers that spent much time with the participant as a child; but there is also individual sensitivity to the rules present in the input[24].
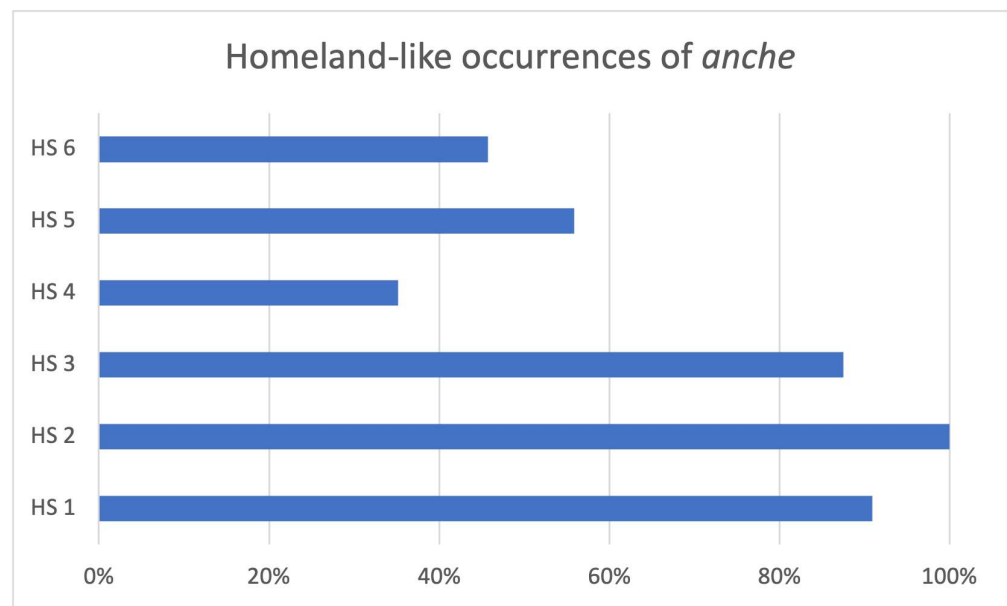
Figure 1. Occurrences of *anche* matching the HomIt grammar.

Let us turn to the qualitative results. The group of IHSs that perform very similarly to HomIt (HS1–3) produced just three non-matching *anche*: one modal *anche* that looks like a transfer from German *auch* (28), and two additive *anche* in postverbal position, a position that is admitted in German, but not in Italian (29):

28. HS3: (The last movie I saw…) l'ultimo bacio, così si chiamava.
          'L'ultimo bacio, that was its name'
 INT: sì
   'yes'
 HS3: &eh &eh # **anche** già   un po' di tempo
    eh eh also already a bit of time
    'Yeah, that's quite some time ago'

29. HS1: e l'anno che ho passato a Bologna l'inverno
    and the year that I.have spent in Bologna the winter
    [lì]ᴅᴀ faceva **anche** freddo e pioggia c'era anche # quindi
    there it.made also cold and rain there.was also so
 HS1: 'and the year I spent in Bologna, the winter there was also cold # and there
    was also rain # so'

In (28), *anche* is used as the German modal particle *auch* (*das ist auch schon etwas her*), while this use is not attested in HomIt. In (29), on the other hand, HS1 uses twice *anche* in the postverbal position, although the DA is preverbal (*lì* "there" and *pioggia* "rain", respectively). This word order is ungrammatical in HomIt, while it would be perfectly fine in German (see Section 2.1 above, ex. (7)).

In the following sections, we do not consider HS1-3, because their production almost completely matches HomIt, but we focus on the other group (HS4–6), which is characterized by a high number of occurrences that would not be acceptable in HomIt. In our opinion, this clearly points to the fact that HS4–6 have a different grammar than that of HomIt, which obeys rules that are in part different (and that we will try to capture in the next sections). For expository reasons, we refer to the globality of these rules simply as "Heritage Italian" (HerIt), although we are well aware that there are individual differences, and that a high number of different "Heritage Italians" exist in the world.

The differences between HomIt and HerIt concern all functions of *anche*, although they are grounded on different bases: in the case of additive and connective *anche*, they are

mainly syntactic, i.e., *anche* occupies a different position in HerIt, as compared to HomIt. In the case of modal *anche*, on the other hand, the main difference concerns its different degree of grammaticalization. In the production of IHSs, *anche* is used as a modal particle in cases in which German would use *auch*, but HomIt resorts to other means, i.e., there is a transfer of the functions of German *auch* to Italian *anche*. A crucial question in this respect is whether the three informants constitute a homogeneous group, i.e., whether their production is consistent across individual speakers, or whether every HS bases his production on different rules. Overall, at a descriptive statistical level, we did not find important differences between the three speakers in the number and type of occurrences that do not match HomIt.

Table 3 shows the overall occurrences of the different uses of *anche* and the amount of matching and non-matching cases, which we will analyse in the next sections.

Table 3. The overall occurrence of the different uses of *anche* and the number of cases matching vs. non-matching the rules of HomIt (marginal cases are counted as 'non-matching' here).

Uses of *Anche*	Matching HomIt	Non-Matching HomIt	Total
Additive particle	39	33	72
Sentence connective	13	10	23
Modal particle	2	3	5
Other cases	/	23	23
Total instances	54	69	123

Section 5 is organized as follows: Section 5.1 discusses the cases in which *anche* has the function of an additive particle; Section 5.2 deals with its role as connective; Section 5.3 focuses on the use of *anche* as a modal particle; Section 5.4 deals with some residual cases (indicated as "other cases" in Table 3).

5.1. Anche as an Additive Particle

The occurrences of *anche* as an additive particle are the most numerous in the corpus[25]: they amount to 72 out of 123. Overall, the occurrences of *anche* as an additive particle matching the rules of HomIt are 39 (54%), while 33 (46%) are deviant (including 9 marginal cases).

5.1.1. Types of Deviant Realizations

Recall that in HomIt *anche* as an additive particle is usually left adjacent to its DA, while right adjacency is marginally possible when the DA is preverbal. In the production of IHSs, when *anche* occurs in a position that is ungrammatical in HomIt (cf. Section 2.1), we mainly find three different patterns[26]:

1. *anche* is right adjacent to the DA, which is usually preverbal (marginally possible in HomIt);
2. *anche* occurs in a discontinuous construction, i.e., it immediately follows the inflected verb, while the DA is in the first position or in an internal position lower than *anche* ("DA—V *anche*" or "*anche*—XP—DA");
3. the DA is phonetically null; *anche* usually follows the inflected verb, as in type 2.

Pattern 1 concerns examples where *anche* follows, instead of preceding, the DA. In Caloi (2017), these cases are considered marginal in the production of German L2 learners of Italian. As for HomIt, we already pointed out in Section 2.1 (examples (3c)–(3d)) that *anche* following its DA seems to be possible only in the preverbal position but that its status is still underresearched. This is confirmed by the fact that in the LIP corpus there is just one instance of *anche* in this position, by a speaker from Rome:

30.　… per ora　le　citazioni　sono rozze　　　perché　[io]ᴅᴀ　**anche**
　　　　for now　the　quotes　　are　imprecise because　I　　　also
　　le　　ho　　prese　da　　Legouis.
　　them　I.have　taken　　from　Legouis
　　'… for now the quotes [in my paper] are crude imprecise because I, too, got them
　　from Legouis's book'
　　(LIP, Rome, Type A, Conversation 3)

In the HABLA corpus, there are nine instances; we illustrate them with two of them: in (31), the informant HS4 talks about her experience as a pupil and says that she did not like school because of both the teaching programme and the teachers. In (32), the informant talks about his summer holidays in Scandinavia.

31.　INT-GIU:　e　# ti　è piaciuta questa scuola?
　　　　　　　'and did you like this school?'
　　　HS4:　　così cosà
　　　　　　　'so-and-so'
　　　HS4:　　non ci andrei di nuovo
　　　　　　　'I wouldn't go there again'
　　　INT-GIU:　perché che cosa non ti è piaciuto?
　　　　　　　'Why, what didn't you like?'
　　　HS4:　　sì # li # l'insegnamento
　　　　　　　'well the teaching'
　　　HS4:　　e　　[l'insegnante]ᴅᴀ　**anche** non mi　　son　piaciuti molto
　　　　　　　and　the teachers　　also　not me　are　pleased much
　　　　　　　'and I didn't like the teachers much either'[27]

32.　HS6:　era un bel giro
　　　　　'it was a nice trip'
　　　　　perché in questo tempo nell'estate
　　　　　'because in this time in summer'
　　　　　il　　era　&eh tutto il　giorno　e　　[nella　notte]ᴅᴀ　**anche**　il　　sole
　　　　　the was　　all　the day　　and　in-the night　also　the　sun
　　　　　perché　non # è mai　buio.
　　　　　because　not　is never　dark
　　　　　'all day and even at night there is sun because it is never dark'

The second type of deviance, namely the discontinuous construction (Pattern 2), is much more frequent in our corpus (13 occurrences). Note that there are no examples of this construction in the LIP corpus: the adjacency principle between *anche* and the DA, with *anche* preceding the DA, is always respected, even when both occur in the postverbal position. This corresponds to our judgements as native speakers of Italian.

In the case of the IHSs, we have numerous cases illustrating the discontinuous construction. In example (37) the interviewer asks for some biographic data about the informant HS6. HS6 answers three times confirming the information read out loud by the interviewer. The second and third times, he confirms by saying: "This is also correct", but first he uses the HomIt order, and then a deviant order:

37. INT-GIU: siamo &eh con &eh Philip
      'we are here with Philip'
    INT-GIU: che ha venticinque anni
      'who is twenty-five'
    HS6: sì giusto
      'Yes, right'
    INT-GIU: sei nato a Monaco?
      'you were born in Munich, right?'
    HS6: **anche** [questo]DA è giusto
      also this is right
      'this is also right'
    INT-GIU: ok
    INT-GIU: sei &eh nato in una famiglia bilingue
      'you were born in a bilingual family'
    INT-GIU: perché la mamma è italiana e il papà è tedesco
      'because your mother is Italian and your father is German'
    HS6: sì
      'yes'
    INT-GIU: dimmi un po' +//
      'tell me'
    INT-GIU: vedo che i primi an- i primi sei anni hai parlato italiano e tedesco a casa.
      'I see that the first six years you spoke Italian and German at home'
    HS6: sì.
      'yes'
    HS6: [questo]DA è **anche** giusto
      this is also right
      'this is also right'

In (37), HS6 is using the two word orders "*anche* DA V" (*anche questo è giusto*) and "DA V *anche*" (*questo è anche giusto*) apparently in free variation, while HomIt only allows the first one.

Finally, a special case of discontinuous construction concerns those cases in which the DA is a phonologically null topic (Pattern 3). An example is given in (38): here the object "civil service", which occurs in the sentence before, is dropped, although it is the DA of *anche*:

38. The informant tells where he attended school and did his civil service
    INT-GIU: sei nato ad Amburgo &eh # a giugno dell'ottantuno
      'you were born in Hamburg &eh # in June eighty-one'
    HS5 esatto
      'right'
    INT-GIU: e hai studiato anche ad Amburgo?
      'and you also studied in Hamburg, didn't you?'
    HS5: sì # ho frequentato il la l' la scuola elementare e # anche il liceo ad Amburgo […]
      'yes, I attended primary school and also high school in Hamburg'
    […]
    HS5: &eeh no &ehm # &hmm ho scelto di andare in Italia &ehm durante il servizio civile.
      'I decided to go to Italy during the civil service'
    HS6: [Ø]DA facevo **anche** ad Amburgo
      [Ø]DA I.did also in Hamburg
      'I also did my civil service in Hamburg'

The last line of example (38) contains an example of topic drop (see Helmer 2016), a common phenomenon in German, the dominant language of IHSs. In fact, this sentence (*facevo anche ad Amburgo*) would be fine in German (cf. (38a)). In HomIt, on the other hand, we would

need to realize the topic (which is also the DA) in a left-dislocation structure, whereby the particle is left adjacent to it (38b):

38a. (Den Zivildienst) habe ich **auch** in Hamburg gemacht. (German)
(the civil service) have I **also** in Hamburg done
38b. **Anche** *(quello) l'ho fatto ad Amburgo (Italian)
also that it-I.have done in Hamburg

Note that (38) also resembles German in the fact that the topic is not resumed by a clitic pronoun, while HomIt always requires clitic doubling when a direct object is topicalized (38b). We come back to this in the analysis (Section 6.3).

Another similar example is found in (39), where the null subject is the DA. In this case, again we find what looks like an instance of topic drop, but in an elliptical structure in which the verb is not realized either. This example would also be fine if translated into German, while it is ungrammatical in HomIt:[28]

39. The interviewer asks HS4 for some biographical data:
INT-GIU: e dove abiti?
'and where do you live?'
HS4: a Niendorf
'in Niendorf'
[…]
INT-GIU: e che cosa # che scuola hai fatto?
'and what # what school did you attend?'
HS4: un ginnasio normale
'a normal high school'
INT-GIU: &hmm
HS4: **anche** a Niendorf
also in Niendorf
'(the high school was) also in Niendorf'

The examples with topic drop are striking because they really seem to be based on a German pattern. However, it must be noted that there are only four unambiguous cases of this type, and they are produced only by two of the three informants. Therefore, we cannot exclude that they are just production mistakes related to the spontaneous oral form of the interviews, rather than a systematic pattern.

Finally, in addition to these four patterns, a last type of deviance that deserves discussion is when the IHS uses *anche* in a context that would be impossible in HomIt. We have identified four instances of this type; one of them is given in (40):

40. HS5 tells about his hobbies
HS5: poi &hmm # mi piace &eh fare le—le fotografie ## con la fotocamera.
'in addition I like taking pictures, with the camera.'
INT-GIU: &mh.
quali sono i tuoi soggetti preferiti?
'what are your favorite subjects?'
HS5: &ehmm ## dipende.
'ehm… it depends'
dipende perché &hmm # a volte
it.depends because at times
mi piace **anche** # fotografare architettura.
me pleases also photograph architecture
'It depends, because sometimes I like to focus on architecture.'

Here, *anche* is not used as a typical additive particle, because the informant does not add "architecture" to a set of alternatives present or inferrable from the cotext but rather

he is mentioning "architecture" as an example, to underline that architecture is one of the various topics he likes to photograph[29].

5.1.2. Total Number of Occurrences

We have seen that when *anche* is used as an additive particle, there are four main patterns, whereby three do not completely match the rules of HomIt: *anche* is right adjacent to its DA (marginal in HomIt), instead of being left adjacent to it; *anche* follows both the DA and the verb (discontinuous construction); the DA is phonologically null in what seems to be a topic drop configuration. These patterns do not show the same frequency (Table 4): the first pattern is dominant, while Pattern 3 is the least attested. Note that the 44 occurrences of Pattern 1 include 39 occurrences that match the rules of HomIt and 5 occurrences that do not match them, for independent reasons.

Table 4. The position of *anche* with respect to its DA, all occurrences.

Pattern	Occurrences	Percentages
"HomIt Pattern": [*anche* DA] (*Anche Gianni dorme.* "Also Gianni sleeps.")	44	61.1%
Pattern 1: [DA *anche*] (*Gianni anche dorme.* "Gianni also sleeps.")	9	12.5%
Pattern 2: discontinuous construction (*Gianni dorme anche.* "Gianni sleeps also.")	13	18.1%
Pattern 3: DA is dropped (topic drop) (__ *dorme anche.* "__ sleeps also.")	4	5.6%
others	2	2.8%
Total	**72**	**100%**

5.1.3. Syntactic Properties of the Production of *Anche* as an Additive Particle

A first question that we might ask is whether the non-matching orders are linked to some specific syntactic role carried by the DA. This is an important question since Andorno and Turco (2015) and Caloi (2017) reported that their participants seem to have no problems when the DA is the subject of the clause. We have, therefore, classified all the instances in which *anche* is used as an additive particle. Table 5 shows the total numbers.

Table 5. The realizations of the order "*anche* DA" according to the syntactic role of the DA.

Role of the DA	Cases in Which the Additive Particle Is Used Differently Than in HomIt	Total Number of Instances
Subject	64%	22
Direct object	40%	10
PP	33.3%	21
VP	25%	8
other	58%	11
Total	46%	72

Table 5 shows that the performance of the IHSs is not closer to HomIt when the DA carries the syntactic role of the subject. On the contrary, this is the context in which they diverge most from speakers in Italy. Therefore, we cannot extend the observations made by Andorno and Turco (2015) and Caloi (2017) on L2 learners of Italian to IHSs.

Now, these data lead us to another question: why does the IHSs' grammar differ from HomIt, especially when the DA is the subject? We suggest that this asymmetry is due to the position of *anche* in the clause: since Italian is an SVO language, the unmarked position of the subject is preverbal (except for subjects of unaccusative verbs, Belletti 2004), while objects or PPs, especially when they are argumental, are postverbal. As seen in Table 4, IHSs have two orders available, one in which *anche* is left adjacent to the DA, and one

in which it occurs in the postverbal position; when the DA is the object or VP, these two positions frequently overlap, while they remain distinct with preverbal subjects.

To properly understand the data, we, therefore, need to know the exact position of both the DA and *anche* with respect to the verb, because, as suggested in the literature on L2 learners, we might want to know whether IHSs also tend to assign a fixed position in the clause to *anche*, independently of the syntactic role and position of its DA (cfr. Caloi 2017).

Table 6 shows that in almost two-thirds of the occurrences, *anche* is postverbal (65.3%). However, the cases in which *anche* directly follows the verb are less numerous, namely 34 out of 72 (which corresponds to 47.2% of the total occurrences). Note that 15 of these 34 instances match HomIt, because the DA follows *anche*.

Table 6. Position of additive *anche* with respect to the verb and to the DA, all occurrences.

Position of *Anche*	Number of Occurrences	Percentage	Cases Matching HomIt
Preverbal *anche*	**17**	**23.6%**	**12**
anche DA V	12		12
DA *anche* V	5		0 (5 marg.)
Postverbal *anche*	**47**	**65.3%**	**21**
DA V *anche*	13		0
V *anche* DA	17		15
V DA *anche*	4		0 (4 marg.)
V X *anche* DA	9		6
(DA) V *anche* (topic drop)	4		0
Elliptical clauses (without V)	**7**	**9.7%**	**6**
others	**1**	**1.4%**	**0**
TOTAL	**72**	**100%**	**39**

Therefore, if we consider together Tables 4 and 5, it is clear that the grammar of HerIt does neither match that of HomIt nor that of German (e.g., because it allows the order [DA *anche*]).

Now, a last question to ask is what the distribution of the different positions of *anche* in HerIt is. We have looked at the informational status of the preverbal DA when *anche* is left adjacent vs. when it is postverbal, and the corpus data show that HerIt exploits the two positions exactly as German does: *anche* is left adjacent to the DA when the latter is focalized, while it is in the postverbal position when the DA is not. We illustrate this with examples (41a) and (41b). In (41a), the interviewer asks SH4 whether she spent the whole summer in Milan, where some of her Italian relatives live.

41a. INT-GIU: e a Milano sei stata tutta l'estate?
          'and did you spend the whole summer in Milan?'
    HS4:   son stata due settimane e mezzo # però normalmente ci sto più tempo.
          just two and a half weeks but normally I spend more time there.'
    HS4:   **anche** [a   Natale]DA   vado sempre lì.
          also   at Christmas I.go always there
          'even at Christmas I always go there.'

In this example, which corresponds both to the grammar of HomIt and of German, HS4 realizes the structure '*anche* + DA' in the preverbal position. From the information structural point of view, the DA *a Natale* is focalized as it encodes the most relevant piece of information within the utterance in the given context. With *anche*, HS4 adds *a Natale* to the list of alternative times of the year (summer, Christmas) when she spends time in Milan. Example (41b) (which was already discussed above as part of ex. (37)) shows that when *anche* is in the postverbal position within a discontinuous construction its DA encodes given information. In this case, the structure is not grammatical in HomIt but it mirrors the syntax of German.

41b. INT-GIU: vedo che i primi an- i primi sei anni hai parlato italiano e tedesco a casa.
'I see that the first six years you spoke Italian and German at home'

HS6:   sì.
'yes'

HS6:   [questo]~DA~ è **anche** giusto
this   is also   right
'this is also right'

The DA *questo* refers to what the interviewer has already said i.e., the fact as a child HS6 spoke Italian and German at home.

5.1.4. Prosodic Properties of the Deviant Realizations

Let us now look at the prosody of our data. As reported above (Section 3), Andorno and Turco (2015) investigated German learners of Italian and found that their *anche* utterances tend to mirror the prosody of their L1 (i.e., German). Opposing that, the prosodic patterns of our IHSs do not seem to mirror the German ones. In particular, the non-matching *anche* utterances of the type "DA V *anche*" and "DA *anche* V" do not show the prosodic pattern of the German corresponding structure "DA V *auch*"/"V DA *auch*", which are characterized by the presence of the focus accent on *auch* (see Section 2.1 above, ex. (6) and ex. (7), and Moroni and Bidese 2021a; Reimer and Dimroth 2021, a.o.). By contrast, *anche* in the utterances produced by the IHSs of our corpus never bears the focus accent. This can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, which show the pitch contours of two deviant utterances by the speaker HS4 discussed above (ex. 31 and 39). The figures were created using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2021).

The sentence in Figure 2 is realized with the major focal movement on the verb (*piaciuti*) and a secondary pitch movement on the DA (*insegnante*). By contrast, the particle *anche* is part of a flat segment. If the speaker were subject to transfer from German, we would expect a pitch track with the major focal movement on *anche* (see Andorno and Turco 2015, p. 67)
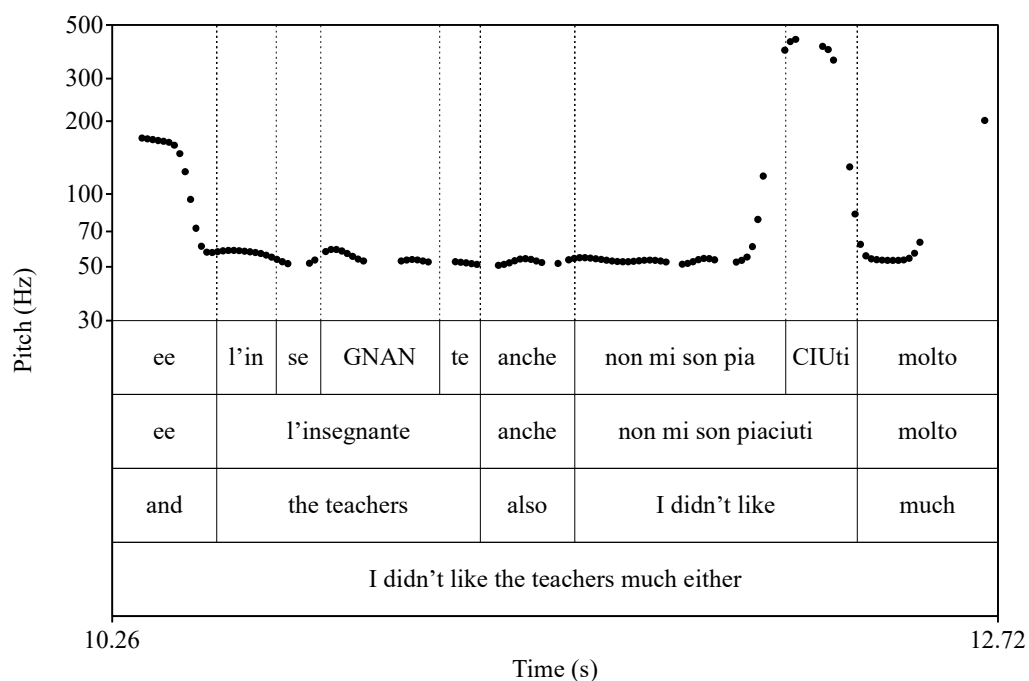

Figure 2. Pitch contour of the utterance *[l'insegnante]~DA~* **anche** *non mi son piaciuti molto* by speaker HS4.

The pitch contour of the utterance in Figure 3 does not mirror the prosodic pattern of German either. In this case, the utterance is realized with an overall rather high-flat contour.

The focus movement is realized on *Niendorf*, whereas if prosody were affected by CLI, we would expect the major focal movement to be on *anche* and the rest of the utterance to be unaccented/flat.
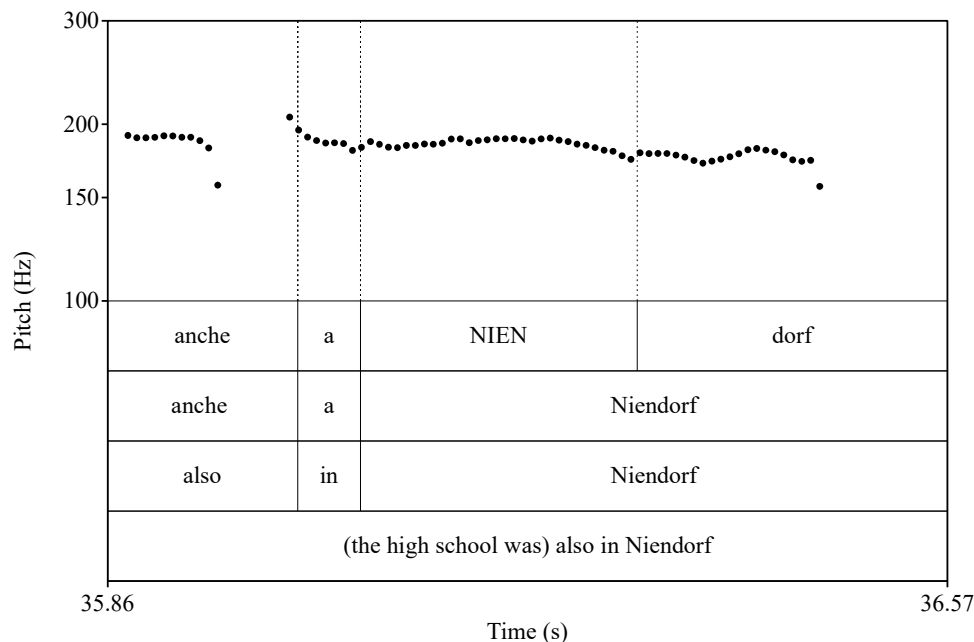

Figure 3. Pitch contour of [Ø]$_{DA}$ **anche** a Niendorf by speaker HS4.

5.1.5. Interim Summary

HerIt, when *anche* is used as an additive particle, resorts various orders, including the discontinuous pattern. This pattern is frequent, irrespectively of the type and position of the DA. This contrasts with HomIt, where *anche* always precedes its DA, independently from its position in the clause or its informational status. Since Italian subjects appear in preverbal position in unmarked clauses (except when the predicate is an unaccusative verb), when they are the DA the divergence between HomIt (where *anche* precedes the DA in all cases) and HerIt (where *anche* tends to occupy the postverbal position) is particularly evident.

The postverbal position of *anche* superficially resembles what we find with German *auch*, which is also used in two different positions, depending on the pragmatic function of the DA. We might, therefore, think of a transfer phenomenon from the dominant language of the IHSs, German, to their weaker language, HerIt. However, in the use of the additive particle, HerIt does not completely overlap with German: although there is a syntactic resemblance, prosodically HerIt *anche* is clearly different than German *auch*: while the latter bears the major focal movement, this is not the case in HerIt, where *anche* is realized with a flat contour.

5.2. Anche as a Sentence Connective

The occurrences of *anche* as a sentence connective amount to 23 out of 123. Overall, those following the rules of HomIt are 13 (57%), while 10 (43%) are deviant.

In the LIP corpus, our control corpus for HomIt, there are just 7 occurrences of *anche* as a sentence connective. In 6 out of 7 cases, *anche* appears immediately after the verb or the verb group (ex. 42a and ex. 42b), in one case it is sentence-initial, left adjacent to the causal conjunction *perché* (ex. 43):

42a. D: ho mangiato
    'I ate'
    e   poi   ci   avevo **anche** sonno
    and then there I.had also   drowsiness
    'and then I was also sleepy'
    perché mi ero alzata presto e sono andata a letto e poi mi son dovuta mettermi a lavorare
    'because I got up early and went to bed and then I had to get to work'
    (LIP, Florence, Type A, Conversation 1)

42b. A: e va be' li può usare sia per missioni che per libri o che non inventariabili
    'well, you can use them [= research funds] both for business trips and for books or […]'
    si   può spendere **anche** come l'inventariabile
    one can spend   also   as   the inventoriable
    'you can spend [them] even as the inventoriable'
    è l'inverso che non si può fare
    'the reverse you cannot do'
    (LIP, Naples, Type A, Conversation 4)

43. B: non ti fo domande non ti preoccupare
    'I won't ask you questions don't worry'
    anche perché a parte non mi ricordo   un cazzo
    also   because a part not me remember a   shit
    'also because apart that I don't remember a shit'
    (LIP, Florence, Type A, Conversation 1)

Note that the position on the left of *perché* ("because") in (43) could be due to the fact that here *anche* retains a stronger additive value (there are various reasons, one of which is the mentioned one).

Parenthetical uses of *anche* as illustrated above in Section 2.2 are not attested. This might be due to the fact that these uses are more typical of high, formal registers.

By analysing the meaning of the sentence in which *anche* appears, together with the context, we classified 10 occurrences in the HABLA corpus as deviant uses of *anche* as a sentence connective. Most of them (8) appear in the postverbal position. In one case, *anche* is left adjacent to the finite verb and in another case, it is sentence-final.

Let us first have a look at the deviant occurrences of *anche* as a sentence connective in the postverbal position. In this case, in HomIt, *anche* would be (i) sentence-initial preceding a subordinate conjunction (ex. 44), (ii) right adjacent to the finite verb (ex. 45–46) or (iii) inappropriate in the given context (ex. 47):

44. HS4 talks about one of his cousins she spends a lot of time with when she is on holiday in Milan
    HS4:   con lei faccio tanto
            'I do a lot with her'
            perché siamo **anche** nella stessa età
            because we.are also   in-the same age
    (HomIt: **anche** perché abbiamo la stessa età)
            also   because we.have the same age
            e abbiamo gli stessi interessi
            'and we have the same interests'

45.   HS5 talks about some disadvantages of his time working in Italy

    HS5:   ee # e poi cioè lavo # continuato a lavorare altri due anni. &ehm # e un # lavorando # mi resi conto che questo non # non è # quello che &hmm immaginavo.
'and then that is I continued to work another two years. As I worked, I realised that this is not what I imagined.'

    HS5:   eee # ho   sentito un po' **anche** la   mancanza del # diciamo dei dei
               eee   I.have felt   a   bit also   the lack   of   we.say of of-the
               vantaggi   del   del   luogo in cui   uno nasce   e   uno cresce
               advantages of-the of-the place in which one is.born and one grows.up
               (HomIt: e ho **anche** sentito un po' la mancanza […]
               'I also felt a bit of a lack of—let's say—the advantages of the place where one is born and grows up'

46.   HS5 tells the interviewer what he did during his stay in Italy

    HS5:   durante il servizio civile ho fatto tipo una una & ehm un due settimane di di corso di lingua italiana a Firenze. &ehm non ho imparato un granché però era un # una bella esperienza
'During my civil service I did, like, a two-week Italian language course in Florence. I didn't learn much, but it was a good experience.'

    HS5:   E   siamo andati **anche** alla   Villa Verrazzano
           and we.are gone   also   to-the Villa Verrazzano
           (HomIt: E siamo **anche** andati alla Villa Verrazzano)
                 'And we also went to the Villa Verrazzano.'

47.   HS4 talks about her favorite Italian cousin

    INT: e c' # hai un cugino o una cugina preferita con cui vai più d'accordo # che ne so tra i # tra quelli italiani?
'and do you have a favorite cousin or cousin with whom you get along best, I don't know, among the Italian ones?'

    HS4:   &ehm sì # ho una mia cugina # perché lei anche è una ragazza #
'Yes, I have a cousin of mine, because she's also a girl'
ha   **anche** la   mia età #
she.has also   the my age
(HomIt: ha la mia stessa età/**anche** lei ha la mia età)
'she is my age'
posso far più con lei # &ehm. sì lei ha ventun anni adesso # sì # ventidue
'I can do more with her, yes, she's twenty-one now, yes twenty-two'

    Example (44) concerns the position of *anche* when it takes scope over a subordinate clause. In this case, it must precede the subordinating conjunction (*perché* in (44)) according to the rules of HomIt (see above ex. 43 from the LIP corpus). Instead of placing *anche* in the sentence-initial position, the participant places it in the postverbal position. Instances such as this cannot be considered as a result of CLI, because German *auch* as sentence connective follows the same pattern as HomIt (*anche perché*, *auch weil*). Rather, this deviant use of *anche* could be due to a general tendency to place *auch*/*anche* in the postverbal position, this position being reanalyzed as the default one.

    As for cases such as (45) and (46), *anche* is embedded in a main clause and should appear right adjacent to the finite verb according to the homeland variety. Instead, it is placed further to the right. Finally, in (47) there are two occurrences of *anche*. The first *anche* (in the utterance *perché lei anche è una ragazza*) is an additive particle in a non-canonical position (DA+*anche*, whereas *anche*+DA is expected) and it is analogous to *anche* in example (31) discussed above in Section 5.1.1. The second occurrence of *anche* (in *ha anche la mia età*) is not expected in Italian but rather a structure such as *ha la mia stessa età* ("she is my age") or *anche lei ha la mia età* ("she is also my age", lit. "also she has my age") would be appropriate.

Overall, these non-matching occurrences of *anche* seem to be due to the general dominance of the postverbal position of the particle in both languages.

In one case, *anche* occupies the left periphery of the sentence together with the discourse marker *però* (cf. Sansò 2020) and is left adjacent to the finite verb:

48. HS6 has studied law and is telling the interviewer which jobs and internships he has done so far in this field.

 HS6: eh # ma penso di rimanere ne diritto civile. il penale non non mi interessa tanto perché # è un po' semplice qui in Germania. Il diritto penale non non c'è tanto da +/.
 'But I think I'll stay in civil law. Criminal law doesn't interest me so much because it's a bit simple here in Germany. Criminal law there isn't so much to +/.'

 INT: non c'è molto lavoro dici!
 'there's not much work you say!'

 HS6: non c'è molto lavoro no. E non si guadagna tanto.
 'there's not much work, no. And you don't earn that much.'

 INT: ok quindi +/.
 'ok so'

 HS6: però **anche** ho   fatto un pratico   nel # tribunale # qui di Amburgo.
 but   also   I.have done an internship in-the court   here of Hamburg
 nel   Landgericht # nel   tribunale penale
 in-the Landgericht   in-the court   penal
 (HomIt: Però ho anche fatto un tirocinio nel tribunale qui di Amburgo […])
 'but also I did an internship in the court here in Hamburg. in the *Landgericht* # in the criminal court.'

Differently from the previous occurrences, this one can be considered as the result of CLI, as it follows the German pattern illustrated above in Section 2.2 with the example (10), where *auch* is a sentence connective in the first position left adjacent to the finite verb, which is ungrammatical in HomIt.

Finally, *anche* as a sentence connective appears in one case in sentence-final position:

49. HS6 is listing the Italian dishes he likes best

 HS6: mi piace molto # la la pasta asciutta con &ehm con con salsiccia e pomodoro.
 'I really like the dry pasta with &ehm with with sausage and tomato'
 e # poi cosa mi piace ancora?
 'and then what alse do I like?'
 c'è tanta roba anche tutti gli antipasti # &eh.
 there is so much stuff, also all the starters
 come sa   la   carne **anche**.
 how   tastes the   meat also
 'even the taste of meat'

According to the HomIt grammar (see also ex. (43) from the LIP corpus), *anche* must occupy the first position left of the embedded clause, adjacent to the subordinating conjunction *come*, as in (50):

50. c'è tanta roba anche tutti gli antipasti # &eh. **anche** come sa (= il sapore) la carne [30]
 'There's a lot of stuff, also all the starters, and [I also like] how the meat tastes'

Summing up, the deviant occurrences of *anche* as a sentence connective are quite heterogeneous. Only the (seldom) structure "sentence-initial *anche*—finite verb" can be interpreted as a CLI phenomenon based on the German structure (see example (10) ***Auch** arbeitete sie als Foto-Modell* in Section 2.2). In most cases, the participants fail at (i) placing

anche in the first position when it takes scope over a subordinate clause (*anche perché*, *anche come*) or (ii) placing it right adjacent to the finite verb with analytical verb forms. In both cases, speakers place *anche* further to the right. In this respect, they seem to fall back to the general rule "put *anche* in post-verbal position" as the most frequent position.

5.3. Anche as a Modal Particle

Anche as a modal particle is attested five times in our data. In two cases, its use corresponds to the one of HomIt. In the other three cases, it is used in a deviant way. In addition, more occurrences could be interpreted as modal, but they show ambiguity and are difficult to classify. We will discuss this in Section 5.4 below.

Let us now first look at the two non-ambiguous cases that match HomIt. The first one stems from the interview with HS4:

51. The interviewer asks HS4 what she likes best about Hamburg, the city where she grew up
 INT: che cosa ti piace di Amburgo? Perché ti piace Amburgo?
   'What do you like about Hamburg? Why do you like Hamburg?'
 HS4: mi piace &ehm # sì la città è molto bella così. &eh a me piace la sicurezza
   che c'è ad Amburgo #
   'I like, yes, the city is very nice. I like the security that there is in Hamburg.'
   che posso **anche** andarmene da sola tranquillamente.
   that I.can also go.me by myself lighthearted
   '[I like the fact] that I can go out alone safely.'
   &ehm # sì # è molto # abwechslungsreich? abwechslungsreich?
   yes, it's very abwechslungsreich [=German for 'varied']?'

In this example, the use of *anche* matches the rules of HomIt because it appears together with a modal verb construction (*posso... andarmene*), it is right adjacent to its finite part and it has scope over the whole proposition signalling that it is coherent with the previous context and thus expectable, i.e., the proposition "a me piace la sicurezza che c'è ad Amburgo": the fact that HS4 can walk around the city alone is coherent with the fact that Hamburg is a safe city.

The second case of a matching realization of *anche* as a modal particle is (52):

52. HS5 is explaining to the interviewer that he likes challenges, doing new things. For example, he has just enrolled in a course in art history, a subject he knows little about.
 HS5: &ehm altrimenti cioè se non—se non lo farei &ehmmm non &hmm non—
   non -non potrei mai &ehm raggiungere un—un livello superiore.
   perché se—se—se faccio sempre le stesse cose e # mi giro mi giro mi giro &hehe!
   'Otherwise, If I didn't, I could never reach a higher level, because if I always do the same things, it is useless.
 INT: certo!
   'sure'
 HS5: e così &eh # devo # ho dovuto fare **anche** il salto
   and so   I.must I.have had.to do also the jump
   nel- nell'acqua fredda
   in in-the water cold
   And so, I have to, I had to jump in at the deep end'
   però # sono fatto così cioè m- mi piace.
   'but that's how I am, that is, I like it'

As in (51), *anche* as a modal particle appears here in the postverbal position and in combination with a modal verb (*dovere*). It operates at the modal level in that it indicates that HS5′s going into new situations without any preparation is coherent with the fact (expressed in the preceding context) that he likes challenges.

Let us now move to the deviant uses of *anche* as a modal particle in HerIt (3 occurrences). In these cases, *anche* appears right adjacent to the finite verb or the verb group and seems to mirror the German modal particle *auch*. The following sequence by speaker HS5 contains two examples in point:

53.   HS5 is answering the interviewer's question about which movies he has seen.
       HS5: ehm ## ci sono +…. come si chiama quel # quel regista # &ehm + Muccino #
              no? sì vabbe' il Muccino +…. tut' tutti +….
              ''ehm there's what's the name of that director ehm Muccino no? yes what-
              ever +'
       HS5: &bah # ho   visto **anche** un   sacco di   film.
                    I.have   seen   also   a   lot   of   films
              'I've also seen a lot of films'
       HS5: mi   son   piaciuti **anche**
              to.me they.are liked   also
              'I liked them too'
              però non &hmm non mi ricordo mai i nomi.
              'but I never remember the names.'

Both *anche* occurrences are used in this case to mark the proposition as expected and coherent with the context: the fact that HS5 cannot remember the names of the films he has seen is coherent with the fact that he saw a lot of them (thus it is not easy to remember all names). Similarly, the fact that the speaker liked the films he saw is marked as coherent with the previous context. This modal use of *anche* is absent in HomIt because *anche*—unlike German *auch*—cannot occur with modal value unless there is another modal element like a modal verb (see above ex. 51 *posso anche andarmene da sola tranquillamente*) or a marked verb mode such as *imperfetto* or *condizionale* ([Cognola et al. 2022]).

In sum, the speakers of our corpus seem to use *anche* as a modal particle calquing the corresponding German structure without taking into account that the Italian modal particle *anche* is subject to more restrictions in that it needs a "modal environment" (i.e., the presence of a modal verb, or specific verb modes). This means that the use of *anche* as a modal particle seems to be affected by CLI.

5.4. Other Cases

In our corpus, there were 23 occurrences that are difficult to categorize. They are of two types: (i) in 17 cases, *anche* is ambiguous, that is, it could be interpreted as belonging to different categories (additive particle, sentence connective or modal particle); (ii) 6 occurrences cannot be drawn back to any of the functions of *auch/anche*. In this case, *anche* has an assertive function. We will delve into the two types separately.

5.4.1. Ambiguous Occurrences

In some cases, it is difficult to disambiguate between the functions of *anche*. This is typical of multifunctional particles in standard (non-heritage) varieties (cf. [Moroni and Bidese 2021a]; [Reimer and Dimroth 2021], p. 6). In the following sequence, *anche* could be interpreted either as an additive particle or as a modal particle:

54. The interviewer asks HS4 whether she would like to live in Italy.
    INT: senti # &eh # ti piacerebbe un giorno stare che ne so qualche anno in Italia?
    　　　'listen would you like one day to stay, I don't know, a few years in Italy?'
    HS4: sì　#　per　questo　faccio　**anche**　l'Erasmus　#
    　　　yes　for　this　　I.do　also　　the Erasmus
    　　　'yes, that's why I'm also doing Erasmus'
    　　　perché non ho mai vissuto in Italia
    　　　'because I've never lived in Italy'

Anche could be interpreted as an additive particle with scope over *per questo* in first position, meaning that there are many reasons why HS4 would like to do Erasmus in Italy, one of which is that she would like to live in Italy. According to this interpretation, the use of *anche* would be the result of CLI from the German structure 'DA+accented *auch*' (see Section 2.1 above, example (7)). However, the CLI would be only at the syntactic level because *anche* is not accented. This would be in line with what we already observed for a subtype of deviant uses of *anche* as an additive particle (see Section 5.1.1 above, example (37)).

On the other hand, *anche* could be interpreted as a modal particle marking the proposition "per questo faccio l'Erasmus" as expected and coherent with the contextual information about the speaker's wish to live in Italy.

Disambiguation can also be difficult when *anche* is followed by a pause or a reformulation. In these cases, *anche* could be interpreted as a sentence connective. However, such a context prevents us from unambiguously categorizing such occurrences. An example in point is (55):

55. HS4 is talking about the differences between Germans and Italians.
    HS4: i tedeschi sono un po' più # tranquilli.
    　　　'Germans are a bit quieter'
    INT: sì
    　　　'yes'
    HS4: : &mh # più silenziosi.
    　　　'ehm quieter'
    INT: sì # lo noto anche io quando a volte sono sull'autobus sulla metro # c'è un si-lenzio.no. e penso # se fossi in Italia non sarebbe così.
    　　　'yes I notice it too when sometimes I'm on the bus on the metro there's a si-lence. no. and I think if I were in Italy it wouldn't be like that.'
    HS4: non è vero perché quando io vado a Mila a Milano in # metropolitana # sono tutti zitti anche.
    　　　'that's not true because when I go to Mila to Milan on the metro they're all quiet too'
    　　　e　　&ehm # secondo　me　　**anche**　#　sono　　　più　#　&ehm # come　si　　dice?
    　　　and　　　　　according to.me　also　　they.are more　　　　how　one　says
    　　　'and ehm in my opinion too they're more &ehm how do you say?'
    　　　&ehm # stanno più alla larga alle altre persone
    　　　'ehm they stay away more from other people that's it.'
    　　　# quello sì va.
    　　　'that's it'

In (55), *anche* appears in the segment *secondo me anche* and precedes the finite verb. The pause following *anche* is probably due to a self-initiation of repair by the speaker, who continues to look for the right formulation after producing *anche* realizing further pauses and hesitation signals (*ehm*) and finally asks the interviewer's help. As this kind of occurrence displays interruptions, we cannot detect which kind of *anche* the speaker intended to realize.

Another interesting sequence in this respect is (56), in which *anche* occurs three times:

56.　The interviewer and HS4 are talking about the fact that Italians usually speak English very poorly in comparison to Germans
INT:　rispetto magari a qualche anno fa # i giovani di oggi magari le persone della tua età lo sanno un po' più parlare.
'compared to maybe a few years ago today's young people maybe people your age know how to speak a bit more'
HS4:　&mhm.
INT:　però # insomma # è ancora un po' # un po' difficile.
'but I mean it's still a bit a bit difficult'
HS4:　sì　ma **anche** # penso　che　sia　**anche** più　　difficile
yes but also　　 I.think that it.is also　 more　difficult
''yes, but also I think it's even more difficult'
perché　&la l'italiano　è　**anche** # è　più　　differente
because　the the Italian is　also　　is more　different
dall'inglese　che il　tedesco
than English　that the German
'because Italian is also more different from English than German.'

The first and the third occurrence are difficult to classify because they are followed by a pause, which could be due to a self-repair by the speaker that decides to start the utterance again. As for the second *anche*, it represents in our view a typical non-matching realization of *anche* as a modal particle, which is supposed to mark the proposition as expected. However, it could also be interpreted as a sentence connective meaning "furthermore" or as an assertive *anche*, a particular type that is not part either of the Italian grammar and that has not been described for German, as we will illustrate in the following subsection.

5.4.2. "Assertive" *Anche*

In our data, *anche* occurs six times in the postverbal position with an assertive value in that it is embedded in utterances that speakers realize to answer positively to polar questions. Let us have a look at an example of an "assertive" *anche* from the interview with HS4:

57.　After talking about the fact that HS4 can speak Spanish and about the cities in Spain HS4 has been to, the interviewer changes topic asking HS4 whether she would like to do Erasmus in Italy.
INT:　senti hai mai pen # hai pensato di fare # l'Erasmus?
'listen have you ever thought of doing Erasmus?'
HS4:　sì # lo farò　　**anche** l'anno　prossimo a　Genova.
yes it I.will.do also　the year next　　in Genoa
'yes, I'll do it next year in Genoa'
a Genova # in Italia sì.
'in Genova in Italy yes.'

In example (57), it can be observed that *anche* does not display any additive value, as it does not operate on a phrasal constituent that should be added to a list: there is no reference to any other thing the speaker is going to do the following year in Genova, or to the following year in general; furthermore, the speaker is not using *anche* to connect the utterance with a previous one. Finally, the interpretation of *anche* as a modal particle (meaning "as can be expected") is also inappropriate in the given context. Rather, the speaker produces the utterance with *anche* to respond positively to the question of the interviewer whether he has ever thought about doing Erasmus.

A similar example is (58) by the speaker HS6:

58. HS6 has just listed the Italian dishes that he particularly likes
    HS6: e il modo mediterrano [mediterraneo] di cucinare.
        'and the Mediterranean [Mediterranean] way of cooking'
    INT: tu cucini?
        'do you cook?'
    HS6: io   cucino   **anche**.
        I   cook   also
        'yes, I do'
    INT: che cosa cucini?
        'What do you cook?
    HS6: io coni &eh cucino # pasta o anche la carne anch- anche un po' in modo tede-sco # patate. tutta sta roba.
        I con eh cook pasta or even meat also- even a little in the German way pota-toes. All that stuff.

In (58), the speaker has just listed the Italian dishes he likes most. Then the interviewer moves on to a new (sub-)topic asking him whether he cooks. With the answer "Io cucino anche" HS6 intends to answer positively to the question. Neither the interpretation of *anche* as a sentence connective nor the one as a modal particle seem plausible in the given context.

This use of *anche* in responsive utterances with assertive value is not present in our control data for HomIt (LIP corpus), nor does it sound grammatical to our native intuitions. Thus, assertive *anche* must be considered a deviant realization. As for German, research does not usually refer to *auch* with assertive value. To the best of our knowledge, only Dimroth (2004, pp. 148–50) puts forward the hypothesis that *auch* can take a focalized finite verb form in its scope thus acquiring an assertive value. She gives the following example[31] (taken from Löbner 1990, p. 86):

59. A: Ich habe gehört, Anna hat dir ein Bild geschenkt?
          'I heard Anna gave you a painting?'
    B: Anna HAT mir **auch** ein Bild   geschenkt.
          Anna HAS to.me also   a   painting given
          'Anna did give me a painting'
    B': Anna hat mir nicht gerüchterweise, sondern auch in der Wirklichkeit ein Bild geschenkt!"
          'It's not a rumour that Anna gave me a painting, she did it indeed!'

According to Dimroth (2004, p. 148), the utterance by speaker B, in which a finite verb with a contrastive focus accent (*hat*) occurs together with *auch*, must be interpreted as in B', i.e., when *auch* occurs in a sentence with a focalized finite verb, it operates on the degree of probability of the proposition signalling that the proposition is true, hence the assertive effect of such occurrences of *auch*.

As Dimroth (2004, pp. 148–50) supports her thesis based on a single example, we constructed a German version of the examples above (57)–(58) and asked three speakers with German as their L1 if they consider the dialogues felicitous:

57a. A: Hast du jemals daran gedacht, mit Erasmus ins Ausland zu gehen?
          'have you ever thought of doing Erasmus?'
    B: Ja, klar, das mache ich **auch** nächstes Jahr in Genua.
          yes sure that I.do   I   also   next   year in Genoa
          'yes, I'll do it next year in Genoa'

58a.　A:　Welche sind deine Lieblingsgerichte?
　　　　　‚What are your favorite dishes?
　　　　B:　Risotto und Pizza.
　　　　　'Risotto and Pizza'
　　　　A:　Und kochst du so?
　　　　　'do you cook?'
　　　　B:　Ja,　　ich　　koche **auch.**
　　　　　yes　　I　　　cook　　also
　　　　　‚yes I do'

Two out of three informants rated the dialogues as flawless. The third informant rated the use of the pronoun *das* in (57a) as incorrect, saying that *das* refers to the whole sentence of A and proposed to substitute it with the DP *das Erasmusprogramm*. In this case, the informant seems to rate the use of *auch* as incorrect and to only accept the interpretation of *auch* as an accented additive particle taking scope on *das Erasmusprogramm*. In the second step, the informants were asked whether the use of *anche* in both dialogues was fine and they all answered positively but one of them added that *auch* is not necessary. These judgements are in line with Dimroth's (2004, pp. 148–50) hypothesis about an assertive *auch* and hint at the fact that uses such as (57) and (58) could be part of the grammar of German. Thus, "assertive *anche*" in HerIt could be due to CLI from German.

6. Discussion

The data discussed in the previous sections show that the grammar of HerIt neither coincides with HomIt nor with German. In fact, while some occurrences match both the rules of HomIt and German, others are consistent only with one of the two languages; a third type of occurrence would be ungrammatical in both of them, and it is thus unique to HerIt (e.g., the postverbal *anche* without stress). In this section, we aim at individuating the rules that govern the use of *anche* in HerIt and analyse them contrastively with HomIt and with German. In order to tackle this issue in an ordered and clear way, we discuss the different uses of *anche* one by one. Thereby, we first focus on its use as a connective and modal particle, whose analysis is more straightforward, and then we turn to the additive use, which is the most intricate.

6.1. The Use of Anche as a Sentence Connective

As shown in Section 5.2, in most cases *anche* occurs in the postverbal position (21 out of 23 cases); in 13 cases this matches the rules of HomIt, while in 8 cases the latter would require a different position in the clause. In particular, when *anche* connects a secondary clause to a preceding main clause, it always occurs in the leftmost position (e.g., *anche perché...* "also because...") in HomIt, while IHSs tend to put it in a clause-internal, postverbal position (*perché* V *anche* "because V also"), cf. example (44). In addition, there are other cases where it is HomIt that requires *anche* in the position directly following the verb, but IHSs produce it in a position more on the right (after an adverbial expression in (45) and after the past participle in (46)). Note that (44) and (46) would be deviant in German as well because German also requires *auch* to precede subordinators such as *weil* ("because") and the past participle (German being an SOV language). Therefore, these cases seem to point to the fact that IHSs have generalised the postverbal part of the clause as the target site for *anche* (with just a few exceptions); compared to HomIt, HerIt is more rigid, because it is insensitive to the context; on the other hand, it allows *anche* to be in a lower position, i.e., the sequence "finite V—*anche*" can be interrupted by other material, for example, adverbs or the past participle.

In the remaining two occurrences, *anche* is once in the left periphery (48) and once in the rightmost position of the clause (49). The first case is completely unattested in HomIt, and it could be due to CLI; the second is again a case of postverbal position, but in this case,

anche follows the direct object as well. However, we cannot exclude that it might be added as an afterthought here.

In sum, the rules of HerIt concerning *anche* as sentence connective are characterized by a tendential insensitivity to pragmatics, which leads to a generalisation of the postverbal portion of the clause as the site of occurrence of *anche*. However, there is variability as far as syntax is concerned, because HerIt follows in part the rules of HomIt.
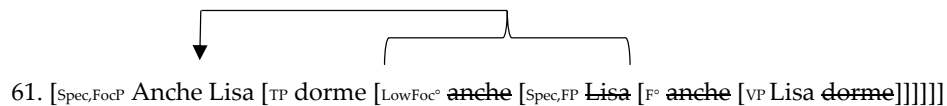
6.2. The Use of Anche *as a Modal Particle*

The unambiguous instances of *anche* used as a modal particle are not frequent in the corpus. For these cases, we should start from the observation that there are no clear syntactic differences between HomIt and German, as far as the modal uses of *anche/auch* are concerned: in both languages, it occurs in the TP (Coniglio 2008; Cardinaletti 2011). Since the structures overlap, it is not surprising that in HerIt as well all instances of the modal *anche* immediately follow the finite verb. The difference between HerIt and HomIt lies in the distribution of modal *anche*: IHSs extend its use to the contexts and sentence types in which *anche* would be ungrammatical in HomIt. The process that led to this result might be interpreted as a CLI effect from German, because CLI, and contact-induced change in general, typically affect properties that are already present in the target variety; therefore, the overextension of modal *anche* could be an acceleration effect of a tendency already present in HomIt (for similar effects in contact and heritage languages, cf. Benincà 1985–1986; Kupisch and Polinsky 2022).

6.3. The Use of Anche *as an Additive Particle*

We have seen that IHSs follow mainly four patterns when they use *anche* as an additive particle (see above, Section 5.1). In addition, we have already discussed that the analysis of *anche* as an additive particle must consider both syntax and intonation.

As far as syntax is concerned, we take as a point of departure the analysis of Cognola et al. (2022) for Italian, according to which *anche* is merged in a functional projection ("FP") in the vP-space, within the low periphery (Belletti 2004). In this analysis, *anche* is always merged immediately below the low FocusP.

In the "HomIt Pattern", namely, when the outcome is the order [*anche* DA] in preverbal position, *anche* attracts its DA to its Specifier; after that, *anche* itself moves to the next head, namely Foc° (60). Subsequently, the whole complex [*anche* DA] is moved (as remnant movement) to the high FocusP in the left periphery, if the informational structure requires so (61):

60. … [Spec,LowFocusP [LowFocus' anche [Spec,FP Lisa [F' ~~anche~~ …[~~Lisa~~…]]]]]

61. [Spec,FocP Anche Lisa [TP dorme [LowFoc° ~~anche~~ [Spec,FP ~~Lisa~~ [F° ~~anche~~ [VP Lisa ~~dorme~~]]]]]]

(adapted from Cognola et al. 2022, pp. 216–22)

This analysis explains why the DA is focalized, and why *anche* and the DA must be adjacent in this construction.

The marginal pattern "DA *anche*" (Pattern 1), is acceptable in some central and southern areas[32]. Since we have no data about the regional Italian varieties from which the participants got their input, we cannot exclude that this rule came into HerIt from regional HomIt[33]. In addition, the use of this pattern could also be a matter of register and diamesic

variation as it is probably more common in spoken/informal Italian[34]. The analysis that we can assign to this pattern is similar to Pattern 1, with the difference that the DA must precede *anche* at the end of the derivation. In principle, there are two possible ways to analyse this structure. The first is that, initially, we have the same configuration as in [*anche* DA] above (60–61), with *anche* moving from FP to LowFocus. Subsequently, *anche* attracts the DA *Mario* to Spec,LowFocusP and then both move. The second analysis is that *anche* is directly merged in LowFocus, and attracts *Mario* to its Spec. This would eliminate an intermediate step, involving an FP as the merging site of *anche*, and as the host of the first movement of the DA. In both cases, then, LowFocusP would move to the left periphery, if needed. At the moment, there is no evidence about which of the two analyses should be correct; for a principle of economy, we prefer the second analysis, because it dispenses us with a double movement that is not easy to justify semantically, which would make the structure unnecessarily more complicated[35].

62. … [Spec,LowFocusP Lisa [LowFocus' anche …[VP ~~Lisa~~ …]]]

63. [Spec,FocusP Lisa anche [TP dorme [LowFocus° P ~~Lisa~~ [LowFocus' ~~anche~~ …[VP ~~Lisa dorme~~]]]]]

Let us move to the discontinuous construction (patterns 2 and 3), in which *anche* appears clause-internally, while the DA is in a preverbal position. First, note that in German the DA is interpreted as a topic, while focalized DAs require adjacency with *anche/auch*. As shown in Cognola et al. (2022), this configuration is ruled out in Italian because in this language topics are merged in CP directly (Cinque 1990). Therefore, *anche* cannot scope over the DA. The only way to rescue the discontinuous construction is through the insertion of a pronominal copy in the scope of *anche*:

64. Gianni$_i$ viene **anche** *(lui$_i$).
     Gianni comes also   he
    'Gianni, he also comes.'

In German, on the other hand, non-resumed Topics are moved to the left periphery. Therefore, when the DA moves to the left periphery it leaves a trace in the scope of *auch*. The link between *auch* and the spelt-out copy of the DA is marked by intonation:

65. [Spec,CP Peter [C° habe [TP ich [Spec,FP AUCH ~~Peter~~ [F° getroffen [LowFocus° ~~auch~~ [Spec,FP ~~Peter~~ [F° ~~auch~~ [V° ~~getroffen Peter~~]]]]]]]]]

(adapted from Cognola et al. 2022, p. 222)

Now, if we turn to HerIt, a first observation is that the discontinuous construction is documented only when the DA is a topic, as in German—but with important differences at the prosodic level (see below). In principle, two hypotheses are available to explain this distribution: either topics are moved in HerIt, as they are in German; or they are merged in the left periphery, as in Italian, but there is some link with a position in the scope of *anche*. Under the first hypothesis, syntax and intonation would go separate ways: speakers would have adopted a German-like syntax, while they would have kept the Italian intonation rules. The second hypothesis assumes that HerIt differs from German at both levels, syntax and prosody, and that the syntactic similarities are only superficial.

Due to the nature of the HABLA corpus, which collects semi-spontaneous speech and not grammaticality judgements, we have no decisive evidence for the movement vs base-generation nature of left-dislocated topics. What we can do, however, is discuss some

pieces of evidence that in our opinion point towards the first hypothesis, namely that the HerIt syntax depends on transfer effects from German, and that topics move in HerIt, as they do in German. The reason why we think the first hypothesis is stronger has to do with some empirical and theoretical observations, which are:

1.   Overall properties of topicalization in HerIt;
2.   Properties of the use of *anche*;
3.   Evidence coming from other moved elements;
4.   Theory-internal reasons.

In the remaining part of this subsection, we discuss these observations separately, one after the other.

1. HomIt and German differ in topicalization, because the former has clitic resumption, while in German we find two types of topicalization: simple preposing without resumption and left dislocation with resumption through a weak pronominal (cfr. Cinque 1990; Rizzi 1997; Benincà and Poletto 2004 for Italian; Grewendorf 2008; Ott 2014; Casalicchio and Cognola (2023, Forthcoming) for German). Crucially, for German the proposed analyses all contain a movement operation, while for Italian Cinque (1990) proposed a base-generation approach, which is still considered valid by many scholars:

66.   L'ombrello,   *(lo)   dimentico   sempre.
       the umbrella   it   I.forget   always
67.   Den Schirm   (den)   vergesse   ich   immer.
       the umbrella   it   I.forget   I   always
       'The umbrella, I always forget.'

In our corpus, there are eight unambiguous occurrences of left dislocation, all involving a direct object. In five of them there is a resumptive pronoun, so that the superficial outcome matches both HomIt and German (68). In the remaining three cases, clitic resumption is missing (69): this configuration resembles what we find in German, while it would be ungrammatical in HomIt:

68.   Qualche film lo guardo in italiano   (HS6)   (= HomIt)
       some   film it I.watch in Italian
       'I watch some film in Italian.'
69.   Questo puoi   vedere in giardino   (HS6)   (≠ HomIt)
       this   you.can see   in garden
       (vs. HomIt: Questo lo puoi vedere in giardino.)
       'You can see it in the garden.'

The key aspect of these data is that while the presence of clitic resumption is *per se* compatible both with a movement and with a base-generation analysis, the examples without resumption are generally interpreted as involving movement.

2. As far as the syntax of *anche* is concerned, consider first that the discontinuous construction is compatible with clitic left dislocation (70):

70.   [Does your mother cook *risotto allo zafferano*?] Quello lo fa   **anche**. (HS4)
                                                        that   it she.makes also
       'She makes this risotto, too.'

Note that such a sentence would be perfectly fine in German, while in Italian we would need a full proform in the TP (in this case a demonstrative *quello* ("that")):

71. [Den Risotto,] den macht sie **AUCH**.
       the risotto   it   makes she TOO

72. [Il   risotto,] fa   **anche** quello.
       the risotto   she.makes also   that
     'She makes risotto, too.'

Since *anche* needs at least a copy of its DA in its scope (on its right), we might presume that (70) is possible because *quello* has moved from the low left periphery to the high TopP (see below, point 4).

In addition, topic drop (Pattern 4) is another construction that points towards a movement analysis: as discussed in Section 5.1.1, the informants' production contains instances of this phenomenon that is found in German, but not in HomIt. Example (73) is an example from HomIt we already discussed above in Section 5.1.1:

73. HS5: &eeh no &ehm # &hmm ho scelto di andare in Italia &ehm durante il
           servizio civile.
           'I decided to go to Italy during the civil service'
     HS5: [Ø]DA facevo **anche** ad Amburgo.
           [Ø]DA I.did   also   in Hamburg
           'I also did my civil service in Hamburg'

This example is noteworthy because the null topic is the silent DA of *anche*.

Examples (73a)–(73b) are derived from (73) and show that the topic drop structure is allowed in German but not in HomIt, i.e., in HomIt the DA is always spelt out (except for elliptical constructions):

73a. (Den Zivildienst) habe ich **auch** in Hamburg gemacht (German)
        the civil.service have I   also   in Hamburg done
73b. **anche** *(quello) l' ho   fatto ad Amburgo   (Italian)
        also   that   it I.have done in Hamburg

Therefore, the syntax of topics in HomIt shows some properties that clearly match German (topic drop, left dislocations without clitic resumption and resumed left dislocations with *anche*), while there is no construction that matches only HomIt, but not German.

3. Further evidence for a movement analysis of the DA comes from cases in which the DA is undoubtedly moved to the left periphery, namely when it is an operator of a relative clause:

74. poi # poi ho   **anche** # ho   due cugini   che # due ragazzi
     then then I.have also   I.have two cousins that   two guys
     con cui   faccio **anche** qualche volta   qualcosa.
     with whom   I.do   also   some   times something
     'Moreover, I have two male cousins with whom I occasionally also do something.'

75. dipende # ci   sono tanti   che hanno festeggiato **anche** a casa   loro &ahm. (HS4)
     it.depends there are   many that have   celebrated also   at home   their
     'It depends, there are also many who celebrated at home.'

In (74), the DA is the PP hosting the relative pronoun *con cui* ("with whom"), which is clearly moved from a position within the clause. In example (75), on the other hand, the DA is *tanti* ("many"), the antecedent of the relative clause. Irrespective of the fact that we accept a matching or a raising analysis of relative clauses (see Cinque 2020), movement is always involved in relative clauses.

4. Finally, as far as theory-internal reasons are concerned, under a movement analysis it is easy to explain why *anche* has scope on an item that is higher in the structure: there is a

silent copy of the DA under *anche*, which *anche* c-commands. Under a base-generation approach, a scope mechanism going upwards would require much more technical machinery to be explained in a satisfactory way.

In sum, although there is no decisive linguistic evidence in favour of a movement analysis of topicalized DAs in HerIt, there are several reasons that make this analysis more plausible. The movement analysis also allows us to explain in a unitary way the discontinuous construction and the occurrence of *anche* with topic drop and with operators. A uniform treatment of all these cases is without a doubt desirable because it is less costly and more easily acquirable. We, therefore, propose to adopt for HerIt the same syntactic analysis, *mutatis mutandis*, proposed by Cognola et al. (2022) for German (76a)–(76b)[36]:

76a. Mario, (l') ho **anche** visto. (HerIt)
Mario him I.have also seen
'Mario, too, I have seen.'

76b. [Spec,CP Mario [C° [TP *pro* [T° l'ho [Spec,FP anche ~~Mario~~ [F° visto [LowFocus° ~~anche~~ [Spec,FP ~~Mario~~ [F° ~~anche~~ [v° visto ~~Mario~~]]]]]]]]]

Considering these arguments, we interpret the discontinuous construction in HerIt as the result of CLI, with the topic in the scope of additive *anche* moving to the left periphery, following the German pattern. Nevertheless, CLI applies only at the syntactic level and not at the prosodic one, because *anche* displays a flat intonation contour, contrary to the German construction, which requires the additive particle to bear the main pitch movement of the utterance. This means that the speakers reproduce the German pattern only partially, without encoding the information structure through intonation. As for the nature of the intonation contours produced by IHSs, further investigation is required to understand the relationship between the intonation patterns of IHSs and those of German and HomIt. Such investigation should be based on more data and should also be supplemented with laboratory data in order to carry out a more accurate analysis of the prosodic features.

7. Conclusions

In this paper, we have studied the use of the additive particle *anche* in heritage speakers of Italian that grew up in Germany. The use of additive particles is a particularly interesting topic because it shows partial overlap in Italian (HomIt) and German, and because it is at the syntax–pragmatics interface; therefore, we expect heritage Italian (HerIt) to differ from HomIt.

Anche and *auch* are used with three main values: additive, sentence connective and modal. With all of them, we have found differences between HerIt and HomIt, which can be attributed at least in part to CLI. In the case of the additive use of *anche*, the use of the discontinuous construction resembles what we find in German. When *anche* is used as a sentence connective, it tends to occur in a fixed position, right after the inflected verb, a pattern that is absent in Italian but present, albeit with a more limited extension, in German. Finally, IHSs extend the use of modal *anche* to contexts which are unavailable in Italian, but possible in German. In addition, a major contribution of our paper is that we have added new (and rare) examples for Italian, taken from the LIP corpus, which are important for future studies on the use of *anche* in this language. In addition, we have isolated a fourth value, that of the assertive *anche/auch*, which is only present in German (and HerIt), although it has never been fully described in the literature (cf. Dimroth 2004).

Our results add evidence to the claim that transfer involves properties that are already present in the system, although they are at the moment at an embryonal stage (i.e., they are present only in a limited set of contexts). Therefore, the transfer cannot be considered a grammatical borrowing or calque of a completely new element. This observation, which goes back at least to the seminal work of Benincà (Benincà 1985–1986), has later been made for language contact (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1994; for the contact between Italo-romance and German varieties see, e.g., Bidese et al. 2016; Casalicchio and Padovan 2019) and specifically for heritage languages in a recent paper by Kupisch and Polinsky (2022).

In sum, the results of our analysis show that CLI is not a "straightforward", monolithic phenomenon: on the one hand, it is selective in the sense that only some IHSs show differences from HomIt, while others show a performance that closely resembles that of homeland speakers. This might be explained by the fact that we chose a perspective whereby "dominance in German" is intended at a community level, while the balance between German and Italian is necessarily different in the individual speakers examined. In the case of the IHSs whose production is more different from the homeland variety, our data show that only the syntactic features are affected, while the prosody of the dominant language does not seem to influence the production in HerIt.

We might, therefore, wonder if it is possible to refer to a "simplification" of the grammar of HerIt if compared to HomIt. As recently stated by Kupisch and Polinsky (2022), no language is simpler or more complex as such, because a simpler grammar leads to more processing costs and vice versa. However, if we limit our observation to the grammatical side, we are indeed able to state that CLI operates as a simplified transfer of the German structure because only the syntactic properties of *auch* are transferred, without affecting the intonational pattern. In addition, another type of simplification consists in the overextension of some uses, which is also attested in our data. This simplification of the internal system leads to more processing costs, consistent with Kupisch and Polinsky's (2022) claim.

In future research, we aim at studying in more detail the use of assertive *auch* in German, by collecting more data from different sources in order to allow us to make not only qualitative but also quantitative analyses of this particular use; the results concerning German could then be compared with what we find in the data of IHSs. In addition, we aim at focusing on the intonational properties of the additive *anche* in HomIt; finally, a crucial question which we would like to address is whether the CLI effects observed in our IHSs are due to attrited input by the parents (and other people speaking Italian to the child), or it originates in the IHSs themselves, as result of the dominant role played by German in their bilingual system.

Notes

1   For a recent critical overview, see Genesee (2022).

2   We follow the definition of heritage language given by Rothman (2009, p. 156): a heritage language is a language acquired through naturalistic input because it is spoken "at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society."

3   "Attrition" is a process affecting bilingual speakers, whereby they lose some grammatical structures after having acquired them to a full extent. The typical case concerns adolescents or adults that move to another country, where they use their L1 less than the language of the new country (see, e.g., Seliger 1996).

4   The study of cross-linguistic variation has been an important topic in generative grammar since the Government and Binding period (Chomsky 1981). Subsequently, a new line of research dedicated to the formal study of microvariation (i.e., variation in closely related varieties) arose, see, e.g., Kayne (1996, 2005).

5   Of course, from such a point of view, it makes no sense to refer to concepts such as "target-like/non-target-like", or similar. We, therefore, consider heritage Italian to "match/not match" the grammar of homeland Italian, in order to refer to rules that correspond (or do not) in the two varieties. In the same vein, we use "deviant" in the objective sense of "differing from the HomIt rules", but this does not imply a (despective) judgement on the value of HerIt.

6   We use the term "Homeland Italian", and not "standard Italian" or "neo-standard Italian" for two reasons: first, we follow the tradition of psycholinguistic and formal studies on heritage languages, which contrast a heritage language with the (varieties of) language spoken in the homeland, by speakers that have not had strong contact with another language. Second, we avoid "standard" Italian because this term refers rather to a written, normed register than to the oral register that is typically the input for children acquiring their L1.

7   A "mixed" pattern is of course possible as well: *anche* has already changed in the production of the attrited parents, but then HSs went further, adding new, innovative properties to the parents' pattern. In any case, to the best of our knowledge, there are no studies on the production of *anche* by first-generation immigrants that moved from Italy to Germany. Therefore, it is impossible to reconstruct the baseline, i.e., the main source of input to which the heritage speakers were exposed.

8   As an anonymous reviewer points out, German and Italian vary greatly as far as word order is concerned: Italian is an SVO language and German an SOV language (as visible in subordinate clauses) that, in addition, is characterized by the verb-second rule in main declarative and interrogative clauses. Independently from this fact, in both languages *anche* can be merged in the same portion of the clause (the TP); in these cases, the difference between Italian and German does not concern the position of *anche*/*auch*, but that of other constituents, notably the verb (which is usually analysed as occupying T in Italian and C in German) and the subject.

9   The DA is between square brackets, and the set of alternatives is marked by braces.

10   In other works, De Cesare (see, e.g., De Cesare 2008) uses the term *avverbi paradigmatizzanti*, which relates to the "paradigm", i.e., the set of items/alternatives focus adverbs refer to. In the present contribution, we use the term additive adverb/particle, which refers to the basic additive semantics of these elements.

11   The same holds for *pure*, which is another additive particle of Italian but is less used and is characterized by a strong regional variation (see Treccani https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/pure/ accessed on 17 October 2022 and Ricca (2017), in particular, notes 1 and 2).

12   When *auch* bears the focus accent, the term *focalizer* turns out to be inappropriate since *auch* does not take scope over the focus of the sentence but constitutes the focus itself.

13   With regard to accented *auch*, Moroni and Bidese (2021b) recently put forward the hypothesis that it could be analysed as an accented modal particle similar to accented *doch*, *ja* and *schon* (Gutzmann 2010, p. 125; Zimmermann 2018, p. 688) operating on the whole proposition highlighting its truth value and thus conveying a verum focus-like effect.

14   De Cesare (2004, p. 193) gives the following examples taken from the Italian dictionary of Sabatini and Coletti (1997) (see also Bidese et al. 2019, pp. 246–48):

(a)   Preparati per tempo a una professione; **anche**, evita la compagnia dei perdigiorno
        'Prepare yourself for a profession in time; also, avoid the company of losers'

(b)   "Ma smettila", disse brutalmente, "ora, **anche**, mi vuoi fare male" (Moravia)
        '"Stop it", s/he brutally said, "now you also want to hurt me"'

(c)   "I signori fanno le iniezioni. E lei si è abituata con loro. Ma forse ha un po' di tisi, **anche**. (Vittorini).
        'The lords give injections. And she got used to them. But maybe she has consumption, as well.'

15   Example (19) is the only one we found in the literature. In the LIP corpus, we found 4 instances of modal *anche*. In all 4 occurrences, *anche* appears in the postverbal position in a declarative clause, for ex. in (i)

(i)   D: io ho mangiato alle dodici e mezza oggi [. . .]
        B: $ $ una delle poche volte che tu ha' mangiato a quell'ora [. . .]
        D: perche' stamattina mi sono svegliata alle otto # alle sette [. . .]
        D: no scusa alle sette certo perche' se ti svegli alle dieci e fai colazione alle dieci e mezza puoi mangiare **anche** alle due

'D: I ate at half past twelve today' [. . .]
'B: one of the few times you ate at that time' [. . .]
'D: because this morning I woke up at eight o'clock # at seven o'clock' [. . .]
'D: no sorry of course at seven o'clock, because if you wake up at ten o'clock and have breakfast at ten thirty you can eat "also" at two o'clock'. (LIP, Florence, Type A, Conversation 1, dots in squared brackets "[. . .]" indicate omissions of side conversations).

16   Scalar particles (such as *even* in English) impose a ranking of likely and less likely utterances (or entities) in a given context. For example, in "Even Jane called", *even* implies not only that Jane has to be added to a list of people who called (additive value), but also that Jane is an unlikely or unexpected member of this list (scalar value), see, e.g., König (1991).

17   Benazzo and Dimroth (2015) also discuss *anche*, compared with its counterparts in German, French and Dutch; however, the Italian data they discuss only come from L1 speakers, while French is the language chosen to represent L2 Romance. Since the French *aussi* ("also") behaves in a very different way than Italian *anche*, their results cannot be taken as a starting point for our analysis.

18   This video clip was originally developed to elicit material about the acquisition of finiteness (Dimroth 2012).

19   Note that, of course, these predictions are just speculations since we are well aware that L2 speakers and heritage speakers are two distinct populations that have different mental representations of the non-dominant language. Therefore, here we are not claiming at all that they should be considered on a par; our predictions are just a useful starting point to orientate our analysis.

20   Note that, coherently with our position on adult heritage languages as independent from the homeland standard language, we do not label the uses of IHSs as "target/non-target like", because it would be improper to consider their production as having the rules of standard Italian as reference. Therefore, we prefer to define IHSs' production as "compatible/incompatible", "deviant/not deviant" or "matching/not matching" with the rules of HomIt (see also Note 5).

21   https://www.volip.it/ (accessed on 1 November 2022). For a description of the LIP corpus see De Mauro et al. (1993); Voghera et al. (2014).

22   Both the conversations of the LIP and the HABLA corpus were transcribed with a minimal level of annotation. In both corpora, the hash key stands for a pause. In the LIP transcriptions, no punctuation marks are used except for the question mark. In the HABLA data, the punctuation marks dot, question mark, and exclamation mark are used but no commas. Words without semantic content, such as interjections, are preceded by the symbol "&", such as "&ehm". The interruption of a speaker's utterance by another speaker is marked by "+/", self interruption is indicated by "+".

23   In absolute numbers, this amounts to 20 out of 22 occurrences, 47 out of 47 and 7 out of 8, respectively.

24   Unfortunately, the HABLA corpus does not offer precise sociolinguistic data about the informants. However, various pieces of information can be extracted from the interviews themselves. As far as we can tell from these interviews, there do not seem to be important biographic differences between the six speakers, which seems to point to the fact that individual sensitivity plays an important role. However, since there are no full data, our biographical observations have to remain at an anecdotal level.

25   From now on, all the figures and percentages only refer to HS4–HS6; with "corpus", we refer just to all the occurrences of *anche* in the speech of these three informants, excluding HS1–HS3, which have shown to have a different grammar.

26   Here we do not consider truncated or root clauses, which are typical for an oral register, but are often difficult to classify.

27   Note that another difficulty for the HS concerns the fact that when the sentence is negated as in this case, the form *neanche* ("not even, not either") is used in HomIt instead of the *anche* used by the IHS.

28   One anonymous reviewer pointed out that the use of *anche* in ex. (39) might not be excluded in native speech. As this use is not attested in our LIP control-corpus and it is ungrammatical according to our judgement as native speakers of Italian, we classified it as not part of the HomIt grammar. However, we believe that the status of examples such as (39) still needs to be further investigated in future research.

29   As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, this kind of "exemplifying/illustrative" *anche* could possibly have an additive-scalar value signalling that architecture is less expected in the scale of possible subjects one might take a picture of (i.e., photographing people is more obvious/expectable than photographing buildings).

30   An anonymous reviewer holds that in this example *anche* is used as an additive particle (with *la carne* in its scope), as the speaker is listing the things he likes to eat by adding *carne* ("meat") to the list. However, in our view, the whole utterance *come sa la carne* is in the given context in the scope of *anche* (and not only *la carne*) as the previous text does not refer to the tastes of food. For this reason, we classified this instance as connective.

31   Glosses and translations are by the authors.

32   This is confirmed by some Google searches, in which there are numerous occurrences of the order "DA *anche* V".

33   Note that this construction is also grammatical in German, but only when the DA is postverbal. Crucially, in HomIt and in HerIt we find this order mainly with preverbal DAs.

34   We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out this aspect to us.

35   The pattern [DA *anche*] is not discussed by Cognola et al. (2022).

36 Note that in this analysis, the subject constituting the DA of *anche* might be in TP or in CP; if the second is the case, we could speculate that IHSs have transferred a V2 rule from German to HerIt (as suggested by Alessandra Tomaselli, p.c.). Unfortunately, our corpus does not contain decisive evidence in favour or against this hypothesis; in fact, there are V3 orders that would be incompatible with a strict V2 language such as German, so that an eventual V2 property in HerIt would be at most optional, or "relaxed" (unless they are considered as production errors). In addition, we could not find evidence for the XVS order, which is considered typical of V2 languages. In any case, more research is needed to give a definitive answer to this topic.

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